Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-113
Thursday
11 June 1992

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-113 *11 June 1992*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

ALBANIA

Chief of Staff Receives Greek Military Attache *[ATA]* 2
Macedonian Border Open for Religious Observances *[Tirana Radio]* 2
President Berisha Appoints 17 New Ambassadors *[Tirana Radio]* 2
People's Assembly Approves Local Government Bill *[ATA]* 2

BULGARIA

BCP Implicated in International Terrorism *[Sofia Radio]* 3
Removing Milosevic Seen as Yugoslav Solution *[OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK 2 Jun]* 3
Compromise on Name for Macedonia Seen Possible *[DUMA 1 Jun]* 4
Intelligence Chiefs Brief Legislators *[DUMA 4 Jun]* 4
Dimitrov Talks Economic Reform With Businessmen *[DEMOKRATSIYA 30 May]* 5
President Zhelev Visits Latin America *[cross-reference]* 5

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel Stands By Decision To Seek Reelection *[CSTK]* 6
Meciar Refuses To Meet With President Havel *[Prague Radio]* 6
Daily Describes Meciar's Position at Talks *[Prague Radio]* 6
Czech Parties Begin Government Coalition Talks *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 9 Jun]* 6
Klaus Considers Possible Party Alliances *[CESKY DENIK 9 Jul]* 7
Klaus to Represent Coalition in Slovak Talks *[Prague Radio]* 8
KDH Rules Out Participation in Coalition *[TELEGRAF 9 Jun]* 8
Distribution of Federal Assembly Seats Announced *[CSTK]* 8
Czech Dailies Review 5-6 June Election Outcome *[CSTK]* 9
Slovak Dailies Review 5-6 June Election Outcome *[CSTK]* 9
Dubcek Likely To Keep Federal Assembly Seat *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 8 Jun]* 10
Communist Leader Supports Preservation of State *[RUDE PRAVO 8 Jun]* 10
Study Examines Views of Meciar Supporters *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 5 Jun]* 11
Fate of Nuclear Plant To Be Discussed 15 Jun *[CSTK]* 11
EC Suspects CSFR Steelmakers of 'Dumping' *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 2 Jun]* 12
Germany Said to Increase Investments in Region *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 1 Jun]* 12

HUNGARY

Czechoslovakia Asked To Stop Diverting Danube *[MTI]* 13
Talks on Former Soviet Barracks Stalled *[PESTI HIRLAP 4 Jun]* 13
Bonn Envoy Refuses Nomination to Security Office *[MTI]* 13
Budapest: Central Europe's Commodities Center *[MTI]* 13
Economic Promotion With East Slovakia Opens *[MTI]* 14
Ministry Says Unemployment Reaches 522,700 *[MTI]* 14
Government Amends Foreign Exchange Policy *[MTI]* 14

POLAND

Pawlak Dismisses Idea of Calling New Elections *[Warsaw Radio]* 15
KLD Will Not Compromise on Economic Matters *[PAP]* 15
KPN's Caucus Leader Favors Early Elections *[PAP]* 15

Walesa Reveals His Former Secret Police Files *[PAP]* 16
Army Daily Denounces Jaruzelski's Memoirs *[POLSKA ZBROJNA 3 Jun]* 16
Council of Ministers Head Dismissed by Pawlak *[Warsaw Radio]* 17
Party X Leader Charged With Slandering Daily *[PAP]* 17

ROMANIA

Iliescu, Leaders Agree on 27 Sep Election Date *[Bucharest Radio]* 18
Stolojan Comments on Elections *[ROMPRES]* 18
Further on Stolojan Comments *[ROMPRES]* 19
FSN Wants Parliament To 'Certify' Date *[ROMPRES]* 19
Iliescu Answers Reporters *[Bucharest Radio]* 19
FDSN Agrees With Proposed Date *[ROMPRES]* 20
FDSN Platform Promotes 'Authentic Democracy' *[ROMPRES]* 21
Iliescu Discusses U.S. Ties, Election Issues *[TINERETUL LIBER 3 Jun]* 21
Paper Views Chances of Presidential Candidates *[ADEVARUL 2 Jun]* 22
Nastase Holds Talks With Moldova's Tiu *[Bucharest Radio]* 24
Embargo Expected To Cost $3 Billion by Year End *[ROMPRES]* 24
Stolojan, Lithuanian Minister Discuss Ties *[ROMPRES]* 25

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Izetbegovic 'Will Not Negotiate' Division *[TANJUG]* 26
Karadzic Reaffirms Willingness To Lift Blockade *[Belgrade Radio]* 26
UNPROFOR Chief Departs for Sarajevo *[TANJUG]* 27
Travel Problems Reported *[Sarajevo Radio]* 27
'Serb Nation' Leaders Issue Appeal to Muslims *[TANJUG]* 28
Commander Gives 'Detailed Information' on Troops *[TANJUG]* 28
Croatian Forces Take Over Serb Positions *[Zagreb Radio]* 28
Serbian Military Industry 'Operational' *[BORBA 26 May]* 29
'Strong Detonations' Continue in Sarajevo *[Belgrade Radio]* 29
Sarajevo Without Water, Electricity, Telephones *[Sarajevo Radio]* 30
'Paradoxes' of Izetbegovic's Policy Viewed *[VREME 25 May]* 30
Sarajevo Professor Discusses 'Catastrophe' *[DANAS 26 May]* 31
Appeals From Tuzla on Threat to Southern Europe *[BORBA 30-31 May]* 33

CROATIA

Greguric Cited on Dimilitarizing Knin, Obrovac *[TANJUG]* 35
Party Believes Military Intervention Possible *[VECERNJI LIST 28 May]* 35
News Conference on HOS Actions in Bosnia *[Zagreb Radio]* 35
Portuguese Foreign Minister Received by Tudjman *[Zagreb Radio]* 36
Says Bosnian Borders Unalterable *[Lisbon TV]* 36
Warns on Sharing Blame *[Lisbon Radio]* 36
Delegation To Attend UN Environment Conference *[Zagreb Radio]* 36
Doubts About UNPROFOR Mission Expressed *[NOVI VJESNIK 31 May]* 36
President Tudjman Appoints New Ministers *[Zagreb TV]* 39
Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina Confederation Urged *[DANAS 26 May]* 39
Cicak Gives Interview on Croat-Serb Relations *[BORBA 25 May]* 40
Helsinki Watch Letter on Human Rights Violations *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 25 May]* 43

SLOVENIA

Drnovsek Calls for CSCE To Unblock Sarajevo *[Belgrade TV]* 45
Pinheiro Against NATO Intervention in Bosnia *[TANJUG]* 45
Koper Port Authorities Breach Sanctions *[Zagreb Radio]* 45
Kucan Says Nation Ready To Join EC in 1995 *[Vienna DER STANDARD 10 Jun]* 45
Maryland Governor Schaefer Talks With Premier *[DELO 30 May]* 45

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Army Chief on Threat of Military Intervention *[TANJUG]* 46
Government Appeals for Further Aid for Refugees *[TANJUG]* 46
'Mysterious' Aspect of Dubrovnik Operation Viewed *[VREME 25 May]* 46

Federal

Federal Assembly Meets To Elect Officials *[Belgrade Radio]* 47
Assembly Chamber Sessions Begin *[Belgrade Radio]* 48
Chambers Confirm Appointments *[Belgrade Radio]* 48
Citizens Chamber Elects Leadership *[Belgrade Radio]* 49
Joint Session To Elect President *[Belgrade Radio]* 49
Presidential Election 15 Jun *[Belgrade Radio]* 49
Obradovic Career, Resignation Viewed *[VREME 25 May]* 49

Serbia

Italian Paper Interviews Jovanovic on Conflict *[Rome LA REPUBBLICA 7-8 Jun]* 50
SPS Supports Milosevic, Criticizes Opposition *[TANJUG]* 52
Draskovic Urges Overthrow of Regime *[TANJUG]* 53
Democratic Party Warns of Civil War Danger *[Belgrade Radio]* 53
New Opposition Party Blames Regime for War *[TANJUG]* 54
Students Demand Milosevic's Resignation *[TANJUG]* 54
Orthodox Church Issues Memorandum on Situation *[POLITIKA 29 May]* 54
Opposition Demands for New Leadership Viewed *[TANJUG]* 57

Kosovo

Albanians 'Rejecting' Talks With Government *[Belgrade Radio]* 58

Vojvodina

Local SPS Board Criticizes Jeszenszky Proposal *[TANJUG]* 59
Hungarian Official Views Embargo, Autonomy *[NEPSZABADSAG 8 Jun]* 59

Czechoslovakia

President Vaclav Havel told CSTK he had "not changed his decision" to run for the CSFR presidency. CSTK notes that Vladimir Meciar, head of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), "refuses to support Havel's candidacy." According to Prague radio, the "scheduled" 11 June meeting between Havel and Meciar "will not take place." Responding to Meciar's "turning down" the invitation for talks, Havel's office said the president will "receive the representatives of the HZDS leadership in such a composition...agreed to by this party itself."

Hungary

MTI reports that the Hungarian Government has asked Czechoslovakia to "immediately stop rechannelling" the Danube at Cilistov. The "verbal note" given to the Czechoslovak Embassy says that the rechannelling is an "illegal and ecologically harmful operation," and that Czechoslovakia needs to "observe the two countries' agreement on frontier waters."

Romania

Bucharest radio reports on a meeting among President Ion Iliescu, party leaders, and heads of parliamentary groups to fix a date for the postponed elections. President Iliescu said that the 26 July elections had a "real chance" to be held, but the "chance" was missed due to "various obstacles." Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan proposed the date of 27 September 1992. "All speakers considered 27 September as the logical and suitable date" for the election.

Yugoslavia

Kosovo—According to Belgrade radio, ethnic Albanian representatives are "rejecting yet another" offer from the Serbian Government for talks on the situation in the province. The reply from the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo (DSK) to the invitation said "the scope and character of the talks" made their success "impossible." DSK Vice President Fehmi Agani, in a statement to TANJUG, "confirmed" that "not one" of the ethnic Albanian parties represented in the coordinating group would arrive in Belgrade on 11 June, the date proposed for the talks.

Croatia

According to TANJUNG, in an interview with GLOBUS, Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric said that "both Knin and Obrovac, as well as other places in Croatia like eastern Slavonia, will be demilitarized according to the Vance plan." Responding to a question on why no military offensive had been launched on areas not covered by the UN force, Greguric said the Serbian Army and chetniks "must withdraw" from these areas, which should then be placed under Croatian control. He added: "What has not been liberated so far will soon be."

Bosnia-Hercegovina

TANJUG reports that in an interview with the Spanish daily EL MUNDO, Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic said he would not "take part" nor would he "negotiate" in talks on the division of Bosnia. The Bosnian Muslims "will not give up" and will "continue fighting." Izetbegovic says the international community has a "moral obligation" to help the "war-torn" republic. He "expects" the most aid from the United States.

Chief of Staff Receives Greek Military Attache

AU1106070792 Tirana ATA in English 1759 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 10 (ATA)—The Chief of the General Staff of the Army General Mayor Kostaq Karoli received the military attache of Greece, Colonel Dhimiter Skurletopulos on June 10.

Mr. Karoli wished welcome to the Greek military attache and pointed out the need of further consolidation of the relations, cooperation, and friendship between our two most ancient peoples in the Balkans and between our two armies.

The Greek military attache brought the greetings of the Chief of the General Staff of the National Defence of Greece Joanis Verivaqis, who has voiced his desire for a friendly visit to our country.

Macedonian Border Open for Religious Observances

AU1006193392 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Statement issued by the Foreign Ministry in Tirana on 10 June]

[Text] In order to enable residents of the border areas of Diber and Pogradec in the Republic of Albania and Diber e Madhe [Debar] and Oher [Ohrid] in Macedonia to perform religious rites in the sacred institutions of each other's countries, a delegation of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Albania talked with representatives of the Foreign Ministry of Macedonia in Skopje on 10 June and agreed as follows:

1. People from both sides of the border will be able to cross freely at the border crossing points of Bllate and Qafe Thane on 11 June 1992.

2. These border points will be open from 0600 until 2000.

3. Residents of Diber District will be permitted to cross at the Bllate border point in order to travel to and from Diber e Madhe, while residents of Pogradec District will be permitted to cross at Qafe Thane in order to travel to and from Oher.

4. Residents of Diber and Pogradec Districts will be allowed to use the appointed crossing points if they have a passport, or an identity card in the absence of a passport. Persons under the age of 16 may cross at these points only if accompanied by their parents.

5. Residents of these districts will be allowed to cross only in cars and buses with Diber and Pogradec license plates.

6. During the day of their stay, the residents of the two districts are obliged to observe the laws and regulations of the country they are visiting.

President Berisha Appoints 17 New Ambassadors

AU1006095092 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 0800 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Decrees issued by President Sali Berisha in Tirana on 10 June]

[Text] On the basis of Article 28, Clause 11, of Law No. 7491 dated 29 April 1991, On the Main Constitutional Provisions, and with proposal by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, president of the Republic appoints by special decrees as ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Albania, the following persons:

1. Lisen Isuf Bashkurti—in the Republic of Hungary.
2. Enver Abdyl Faja—in the Republic of Poland.
3. Tahir Bajram Elezi—in the Republic of China.
4. Arben Pandi Cici—in the Arabian Republic of Egypt.
5. Roland Yzedin Dumo—in the United States.
6. Albert Iljaz Alickaj [also known as Butka]—in the Republic of Austria.
7. Artur Llazar Kuko—in the Kingdom of Belgium and under the EC Commission.
8. Xhezair Hysen Zaganjori—in the Federal Republic of Germany.
9. Besnik Bajram Mustafaj—in the Republic of France.
10. Gazmend Besim Turdiu—in the Swiss Confederation.
11. Skender Ali Shkupi—in the Republic of Turkey.
12. Bardhyl Hamit Kokalari—in the Kingdom of Sweden.
13. Fran Zef Cukaj—in Romania.
14. Koco Kote—in the Republic of Bulgaria.
15. Ismail Abedin Farka—in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.
16. Edmond Dule—in the Republic of Italy.
17. Thanas Shkurti—ambassador under the UN.

These decrees come into force immediately.

People's Assembly Approves Local Government Bill

AU1006102192 Tirana ATA in English 0802 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 10 (ATA)—On June 9 afternoon, the People's Assembly held a plenary sitting. It reviewed and endorsed article per article the draft law on the organization and functioning of local power. This draft law contains 59 articles altogether. It defines the way of establishing particular links of local power, their functioning and competences.

BCP Implicated in International Terrorism

AU1006134492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 10 92

[Report on announcement from the Press Center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs; date and place not given]

[Text] Documents have been found in the archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs that incriminate the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] in organizing and aiding international terrorism and interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states.

On the basis of B-6 Resolution of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat of 9 May 1974, it was decided to aid the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party in the following areas: Illegal transfer of special groups of Greek Communists to Greece through our border for implementing specific tasks of the Greek Communist Party party decisions—during the year there were about 10 such cases; setting up one-way radio link by the First Main Directorate of State Security from Bulgarian territory so that the Greek security organs would not be able to detect the radio transmissions; transferring materials of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party across the border along a channel of the same intelligence department; and allocating the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party 50,000 leva and $10,000 for conducting special measures.

According to the announcement, the Ministry of Interior practice was also confirmed by documents attached to the resolution. Such organized channels had also been activated in the past. Thus, five such channels had been established for the illegal transfer of delegates to the Fifth Congress of the Greek Communist Party, and for carrying over documents and other materials.

Resolution No. 49 of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat of 30 November 1984 spells out Bulgaria's consent to granting political asylum in Bulgaria to seven Turkish terrorists, who in 1972 hijacked two airplanes, and two other terrorists, who hijacked in 1984 a Turkish airplane, which was forced to land in Bulgaria.

Political asylum has also been granted to a Turkish citizen, illegally brought to Bulgaria in 1973. On the basis of a specific decision of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat, they all have been given jobs, by allocating special payroll slots, and apartments by Sofia City People's Council. They have been given the opportunity to complete their higher education and receive scientific degrees and titles in Bulgaria. They have been appointed to posts on the editorial boards of Bulgarian newspapers, the radio, the television, and in scientific institutes of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. They have been admitted to the BCP.

Thus, criminal waste of state resources has been conducted. Instead of assisting needy Bulgarian citizens, material, financial, and housing privileges have been granted to persons who essentially belong to the category of international terrorists.

In addition, on the basis of other resolutions of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat, employees of the Security Services of Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Yemen, Cuba, Tanzania, and Ghana have been trained in Bulgaria. Those countries have also been allocated free funds, equipment, and weapons, which have been used for supporting totalitarian regimes and developing international terrorism, the announcement of the Press Center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs reads.

Removing Milosevic Seen as Yugoslav Solution

AU1006114492 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 2 Jun 92 p 3

[Dimitur Radkov commentary: "Could Serbia Block Our Road to Europe?"]

[Text] Belgrade politicians hardly assumed that the boomerang they threw into Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina would return with such a force, and propelled by the international public, hit them in the head. One after another, countries are adhering to the UN Security Council sanctions against the aggressive policy of Serbia and Montenegro. Bulgaria's adherence to those sanctions was only natural.

Belgrade reacted in different ways. On the one hand, the opposition parties think that only the present leaders, rather than all Serbian people, should be punished. On the other hand, the authorities, albeit confused, continue to stress that they will firmly defend their positions. This conclusion is based on some extremely radical statements of Serbian nationalism, according to which the two federative Republics are in a state of war and will react accordingly. Threats have been made to close Yugoslavia's airspace, stop railroad and vehicle transportation, and block sailing along the Danube River. On the basis of the brutality of the Serbian military, one should not exclude this possibility as Belgrade's responsive measure. However, Belgrade should carefully assess the consequences, because it would find itself in an even graver isolation.

Is an international military intervention possible under those circumstances?

It is impossible to make a comparison with Iraq because the West's interests are different. It would hardly risk an intervention in a region torn apart by so many different conflicts. Such a step would be extremely costly in terms of time and money, and what is even more dangerous—such a step could turn the region into a graveyard. The Yugoslav Army's potential has been affected but hardly eliminated. The Army has a significant number of heavy missiles that almost have a medium range. They could reach Paris, Bonn, and London. Do those missiles have only conventional warheads? Yugoslavia had already started to develop its nuclear technology in Tito's time.

Probably, the solution is in provoking events that would remove Milosevic from power. Thus, a dual effect would be achieved: calming Yugoslavia and establishing a democratic government.

Compromise on Name for Macedonia Seen Possible

AU1006111692 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 1 Jun 92 p 4

[Goran Gotev commentary: "Compromise on Macedonia's Name Is Possible"]

[Text] For the time being, the new Macedonian state has been recognized by only one of its neighbors—Bulgaria, which did so in January—and by one superpower—Russia, which did so in May. Skopje seems to be satisfied with the half-hearted Russian recognition announced on 27 May by Foreign Minister Kozyrev. "I think that it is completely logical and natural that the first visit to the sovereign and independent state of Macedonia should be made by the Russian foreign minister. This has great importance.... As far as the note of recognition is concerned, that is above all a bureaucratic piece of paper. I do not understand these matters much. Shortly after I return to Moscow the note will be prepared." This is what Andrey Kozyrev said in the Macedonian capital, thus making one mistake, which he was probably prompted to make by his Macedonian hosts, and one gaffe. First, the gaffe—he admitted that he was incompetent.

As for the mistake—the first foreign minister to visit Macedonia after the announcement of its independence was Stoyan Ganev, the Bulgarian foreign minister. If his hosts misled their Russian guest, they undoubtedly owe an explanation to both Russian and Bulgarian diplomacies. As far as the issue of the "purely bureaucratic" nature of the note is concerned—this matter is a bit more delicate. Kozyrev is not incompetent, he simply did not want to be sincere. He did not hand over a note, because it would have been inscribed in capital letters that "Russia recognizes the Republic of Macedonia." It appears that Russia is not convinced that the new state will indeed have precisely this name. The fact that Moscow will wait "for a while" after Kozyrev's return implies that the Russian diplomacy realistically believes in the possibility of a compromise between Skopje and Athens on a new name. It could be New Macedonia, Vardar Macedonia, Slavic Macedonia, or something similar. The important thing is to preserve the name Macedonia regardless of the adjective that precedes it. Neither the United States nor the EC states will allow their ally and partner, Greece, to capitulate and accept the present name of our new neighbor. Thus, the sooner a mutually acceptable compromise is found, the better. This applies to Skopje, Athens, and the Balkan Peninsula.

Intelligence Chiefs Brief Legislators

AU1106075292 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 4 Jun 92 p 1

[Vasil Popov report: "Intelligence Gathering Has Been Eliminated, the Services Chiefs Admit"]

[Text] The chiefs of the national intelligence and counter-intelligence services, namely Brigo Asparukhov, Chavdar Petkov, and Evtim Saparevski (deputy of the absent General Chavdar Chervenkov), briefed the parliamentary Commission on National Security on the successful and final elimination of Bulgarian intelligence.

According to the participants in the meeting, the members of the commission, particularly those belonging to the ruling party, reportedly asked disarmingly naive questions, showing their need for a basic training in military affairs and parliamentary practice. The question of what is happening in Yugoslavia today, for example, was answered with the remark that some information might be obtained for the time being, but that soon there would be no information whatsoever. As far as a serious professional collecting of information is concerned, there can be no question of it. There is no one capable of doing this.

The deadline for the withdrawal of all Bulgarian intelligence agents from abroad elapsed on 31 May. How many of them have actually returned and how many are not likely to come home, may be a state secret, the espionage specialists believe. However, they are convinced that the "notorious list" is not the only one, because it concerns only intelligence agents under diplomatic cover. In the meantime, however, employees of the national services working in other departments have also been dismissed.

How should a minister (of science and education for example) know which of his civil servants are working both in intelligence and counter-intelligence, to be able to dismiss precisely those people? One of the Bulgarian espionage bosses answered this question of a DUMA reporter in the following manner: "Ask me the same question in 15 years." Well-informed sources reveal that intelligence and counter-intelligence agents have been dismissed from already closed and from still existing ministries and from companies such as "Balkan" Airlines.

A former spy who is now in private business, talking to a DUMA reporter, claims that Dimitur Ludzhev, as early as in his days as deputy prime minister, asked all Bulgarian secret service residents to hand in lists of their agents. The residents asked their commanders to confirm the request. It is not unlikely that such telegrams might be discovered by some eager prosecutor who is particularly concerned about national security.

William Colby, one of the world's top spies, recently explained to chiefs of intelligence services from 20 countries that intelligence and counter-intelligence is by

no means dirty work. Such activities should rather be described as decisive for a country's foreign and domestic policy priorities, considering that they are providing information and analyses for business circles, for economic sectors, and for all sorts of other spheres. An experienced teacher, however, is convinced that such lessons are only useful for those who are ready to accept and understand them.

At the aforementioned meeting, Valentin Aleksandrov, current secretary of state at the Ministry of Defense, (who is well known for his major articles on neo-conservative militarism in the recent past) declared that the ruling majority, and especially its representatives in the Parliamentary Commission on National Security, will require 6-8 months in order to become familiar with the difficult subject. Experts estimate this deadline as quite optimistic.

After yesterday's "hearing," the Parliamentary Commission on National Security is expected to pursue its sessions and perhaps to discuss the state of intelligence. A proposal was reportedly submitted to invite Stoyan Ganev to account for his activities.

Dimitrov Talks Economic Reform With Businessmen

AU1106070692 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 30 May 92 p 2

[BTA report]

[Text] On 29 May, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov invited representatives of private business to a number of meetings, at which they presented their ideas on restructuring the economy, developing the private sector, and the governments' financial, credit, and taxation policies. According to an announcement from the Government Press Center, the prime minister expressed the wish that such meetings should become regular events. He received leaders of the Prosoft and Multigroup companies, the "Vuzrazhdane" Union of Private Producers, the Union for Citizens Economic Initiative, the Open Market consortium, "Alternative 2000," and "Meridian 22."

Iliya Pavlov, chief of the Credit Bank and chairman of Multigroup, suggested that the government set up a special section for relations with the private sector. Mr. Pavlov told reporters that he had agreed to submit a socially oriented investment program to Filip Dimitrov.

According to Valentin Mollov, chairman of the Union for Citizens Economic Initiative, during his meeting he reached agreement with Filip Dimitrov on the need to look for new ways to stimulate the reform in Bulgaria and to draw lessons from the mistakes that had been made in other East European countries.

At the moment there exists a clash of various views and approaches to economic policy, therefore it is important for me to hear the views of the representatives of private business, prime minister Filip Dimitrov stated at the end of the meetings.

President Zhelev Visits Latin America

WA0610143092

For reportage on the visit by President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev to Venezuela, Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina, including reports on his talks with leaders of these countries and attendance at the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, please see the pertinent country sections of the 10 June Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Havel Stands By Decision To Seek Reelection

LD1006201192 Prague CSTK in English 1809 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 10 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today told CSTK he has not changed his decision to run for Czechoslovak presidency.

Havel today met with representatives of the central, Czech, Slovak and regional electoral commissions and thanked them for their performance during the June 5-6 parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia.

Havel announced his candidacy April 14. On Tuesday, Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), said the HZDS agrees to a citizen of the Czech Republic becoming Czechosovakia's new president, but refuses to support Havel's candidacy.

Meciar issued the statement on his talks with Vaclav Klaus, chairman of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), which ended in the small hours Tuesday in Brno, South Moravia. The chairmen of the strongest Czech and Slovak parties met for talks on the formation of a new federal government.

Meciar Refuses To Meet With President Havel

LD1006151792 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Excerpts] The meeting between President Vaclav Havel and Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], which was scheduled for 11 June will not take place. [passage omitted]

Responding to a CSTK question on what is the Castle's assessment of Vladimir Meciar turning down the president's invitation to hold a meeting, presidential spokesman Michael Zantovsky said: President Havel invited Vladimir Meciar as a representative of HZDS, which together with the Civic Democratic Party is negotiating the composition of the new coalition federal government. The president will receive the representatives of the HZDS leadership in such a composition, which will be agreed to by this party itself.

Civic Democratic Party Chairman Vaclav Klaus has taken a similar stand. He said that the rejection of a meeting with the president is a matter for Vladimir Meciar.

Daily Describes Meciar's Position at Talks

LD1106090192 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 0730 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] The TELEGRAF daily [linked with the Civic Democratic Party] managed to obtain, from reliable sources in the Slovak republic, a summary of essential axioms with which the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] arrived on 8 June in Brno for their talks with the Civic Democratic Party [ODS]. The correctness of the summary was confirmed, as the daily puts it, by a leading ODS representative. The TELEGRAF states that the HZDS proposed to create a confederation [soustati] of two independent states linked by a shared military command, while the armies would be independent, and by a common currency with a simultaneous setting up of two issuing banks. During the first meeting of the Slovak National Council on 23 June, the sovereignty of the Slovak republic will be declared, the Slovak Constitution will be adopted, and the Slovak president will be elected. At the federal level a liquidation federal government will be formed without any executive powers. Its task will be to transfer powers [kompetence] from the federal level onto republics' bodies. The HZDS suggested that this government be formed by five members coming from the Czech republic and five members from the Slovak republic. Following the division of powers the Federal Parliament will cease to exist and the deputies that have been elected will create a second chamber of national councils. After this union or confederation has been created there is no reason to enter the European Community simultaneously.

These were the essential axioms with which, according to today's issue of the TELEGRAF daily, the HZDS arrived for the 8 June meeting with the ODS in Brno.

Czech Parties Begin Government Coalition Talks

AU1106071392 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 9 Jun 92 p 1

["jl, pen"-signed report: "Czech Right Wing Negotiates"]

[Text] Prague—The first contacts between representatives of the victorious Civic Democratic Party [ODA] and its potential Czech Government coalition partners were made yesterday at the Czech National Council. As ODA Deputy Chairman Miroslav Macek commented, the Civic Democratic Party thus began its series of talks with the potential coalition partners. According to the ODA, among these partners on the Czech political scene are the Christian Democratic Party, the Christian and Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL], and the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA].

ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus has attended neither the meeting with the chairman of the ODA political board, Vladimir Dlouhy, nor the talks with KDU-CSL Chairman Josef Lux. According to our unofficial sources, the actual distribution of ministerial seats has not been discussed at these meetings. Individual party representatives only exchanged framework ideas on their representation in the Czech ministerial cabinet. There are certain concerns in the ODS circles about the possibility that the ODA, having realized its need to create a majority right-wing coalition, will make the maximum demands. According to some sources, the ODA has not given up on the idea of filling the post of Czech prime minister.

ODS Deputy Chairmen Jozef Zieleniec and Miroslav Macek conducted preliminary talks yesterday on coalition cooperation with the KDU-CSL. As we were told by its chairman, Josef Lux, the ODA accepted the KDU-CSL idea that the future government coalition operate on the basis of an adopted written coalition contract.

According to Josef Lux, the contract should have three parts: policy, cabinet seat distribution, and finally, a policy on resolving eventual critical situations.

The KDU-CSL intends to be represented in the Federal and in the Czech Governments. It assumes that if the governments are to receive support in the legislative bodies, their policy statements must be based on the common points of the policies of all the participating parties.

Another topic at the meeting was an exchange of opinions prior to the evening talks between Vaclav Klaus and Vladimir Meciar. "We agreed on roughly the following: If the two representatives reach a consensus, it must be a part of a written coalition agreement. Ideally, it should happen before 25 June, when the new federal parliament first meets. One can give up—I believe—weeks, but not bicker for months over, let us say, the powers. If an agreement within a reasonable amount of time is not possible, the alternative of a dignified division of Czechoslovakia would be considered. Both the ODS and our party realize our responsibility, which demands that we be receptive and act in good faith to reach an agreement," Josef Lux said.

Josef Lux and Jan Kalvoda, KDU-CSL and ODA chairmen, respectively, also met yesterday for an informal conference on coalition cooperation in the Czech Government. "We agreed that the condition for collaboration is a proper coalition contract," KDU-CSL Chairman Josef Lux said after the meeting. ODA Chairman Jan Kalvoda said that the official negotiation will commence only after the Czech National Council Presidium entrusts the victorious party with the task of starting the talks on the composition of the Czech Government.

Klaus Considers Possible Party Alliances

AU1006131692 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 9 Jul 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with CSFR Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus by Tomas Suchomel; place and date not given: "Catching One's Breath After the Elections"]

[Text] Vaclav Klaus, chairman of the Civic Democratic Party, the party that emerged as the strongest federal party after the elections, was given the task by President Vaclav Havel of chairing the coalition talks on the appointment of the Federal Government. CESKY DENIK was able to ask him a few questions before these talks.

[Suchomel] How do you view post-election cooperation between rightist parties?

[Klaus] I believe that the rightist parties share principally similar principles—they have identical interests as regards basic civic, economic, and constitutional principles. By this I mean that it will be possible to arrive at reasonable cooperation based on these principles. Talks with the Christian Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union have indicated this, thus far.

[Suchomel] What message would you send to those who see everything in black after the elections?

[Klaus] We are people, and people are inclined to be depressed and discontented. In my opinion, it should be different. It was the case in the Czech Republic that every third voter said a clear farewell to communism, socialism, and cheap promises, and chose a party subscribing to values such as pragmatism, human responsibility, etc.—and this is an unbelievable success. The corks of the champagne bottles should be flying high, yet we are inclined to perceive the situation as being worse than it is. Perhaps it is the result of the inability of some politicians to accept a loss and behave in accordance with the number of votes they really have behind them. It is no good if we let strange aspirations and unrealistic goals meddle with the elections results. It is a great pity.

[Suchomel] What was your meeting with Vaclav Havel about?

[Klaus] I can say that we agree on the need to find a quick solution to the situation in the Federal Government and federal bodies. It is not possible to postpone this, and it is not possible either to have some kind of intermediate period in which unilateral actions would be taken before the eyes of the existing paralyzed government. It is quite a different thing to appoint the government and people in federal bodies, and to search for detailed solutions later on. There must be a functioning government in this country, since there are so many problems to be solved every day—from the Gabcikovo project to the railroad engineers' strike. Legitimate bodies—that is, elected in these elections—must deal with these problems. The speed with which solutions are found is terribly important—we have reached absolute agreement on this point.

[Suchomel] What do you expect from the talks with the opposition?

[Klaus] What kind of political consensus we manage to achieve in this country is important. The thing is, how large a part of the opposition will we be able to acquire for our side in the Czech National Council and in the Federal Assembly, as well. For example, on the issue of a reasonable constitutional arrangement it is necessary that we achieve elementary consent with parties such as the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party and the Liberal Social Union. I do not anticipate strong support from them as regards the economic transformation, but I believe in reaching consensus on the issue of the constitutional arrangement. The appearance of Mr. Horak and Mr. Trnka on television on Sunday [7 June] testifies to that effect.

[Suchomel] The composition of the votes in the Federal Assembly is not favorable. It even seems that the right is almost in opposition. Are Czech right-wing parties prepared for that?

[Klaus] I am convinced that the "right-left" perspective, which is justified and admissible for the Czech political scene, does not correspond to the situation in Slovakia. This sort of perspective will be possible to adopt there after

the next Slovak elections, at the earliest. In my opinion, the For a Democratic Slovakia Movement must be defined in a different way than simply in terms of right or left. I believe that it has a different structure and shape.

[Suchomel] How do you assess the position of Sladek's republicans in parliaments.

[Klaus] It is a demagogic and populist group, which will always turn against whoever is at the top. In no case will they fight against everyone. They do not mind opposition, they mind the party that holds a position. It must be clear to everyone—everyone who listens to their attacks against legal and democratic principles—that they are a leftist party.

[Suchomel] How do you view the results of the elections?

[Klaus] They could have been better.

Klaus to Represent Coalition in Slovak Talks

LD1006174292 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] The talks between the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and the [Czech] coalition comprising the Civic Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Party will be conducted on behalf of the Czech coalition only by the Civic Democratic Party and its chairman Vaclav Klaus. On the basis of the agreement between Vaclav Klaus and Vaclav Benda, the latter has been given a free hand to hold talks between the victorious Czech coalition and the Slovak and Hungarian Christian parties. This was announced by Christian Democratic Party press spokesman Ondrej Turek.

KDH Rules Out Participation in Coalition

AU1106072292 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 9 Jun 92 p 2

["(jak,aku)"-signed report: "What Is To Be Done With the Christian Democratic Movement?"]

[Text] Prague—Jan Petrik, general secretary of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), yesterday ruled out the possibility that his movement would form a coalition at the federal or republican levels. We asked Miroslav Macek, deputy chairman of the Civic Democratic Party, whether the Civic Democratic Party - Christian Democratic Party coalition anticipates (in view of the KDH standpoint) the establishment of a minority government.

"It is not altogether true that without KDH participation the government will be a minority government. The KDH may easily issue such declarations, since no one wants to form a coalition with them. The key issue is whether we will reach agreement with the For a Democratic Slovakia Movement. Mr. Meciar's movement holds virtually 50 percent of the mandates. There is no need for discussion with Slovak parties, especially not in the first round," Macek said.

Vaclav Benda, chairman of the Christian Democratic Party, told our reporter: "I hope that the KDH standpoint is not final. In the case that agreement between Klaus and Meciar were possible, I would not consider the KDH standpoint as fortunate. In a very short period of time we intend to start talks with the KDH and Hungarian parties in Slovakia. In principle, I will strive to make these democratic parties a constructive part of the future government coalition.

Distribution of Federal Assembly Seats Announced

LD1006140192 Prague CSTK in English 1331 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 10 (CSTK)—After the second count of votes, the remaining 22 seats in the 150-seat House of the People in the Federal Assembly (parliament) have been divided between the eleven parties which already had secured seats in the chamber after last weekend's elections, the Central Elections Commision (UVK) announced today.

	Additional seats	total
Civic Democratic Party (ODS)-Christian Democratic Party (KDS)	2	48
Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS)	1	24
Left Bloc (LB—coalition of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia-KSCM and the Czechoslovak Democratic Left-DL)	2	19
Democratic Left Party (SDL—former Communists in Slovakia)	2	10
Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD)	2	10
Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC)	3	8
Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL)	2	7
Liberal Social Union (LSU—grouping of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Agrarian Party and the Green Party)	4	7
Slovak National Party (SNS)	1	6
Christian Democratic Movement (KDH)	2	6
Coalition of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Party (MKDH), EGYUTTELES (ESWS), and the Hungarian People's Party (MSL)	1	5
	—	—
	22	150

The UVK also announced the distribution of the remaining 26 seats in the 150-seat House of Nations in the Federal Assembly among the twelve parties which already secured seats in the chamber after the elections.

	Additional seats	total
Civic Democratic Party (ODS)-Christian Democratic Party (KDS)	3	37
Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS)	2	33
Left Bloc (LB—coalition of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia—KSCM and the Czechoslovak Democratic Left—DL)	2	15
Democratic Left Party (SDL—former Communists in Slovakia)	1	13
Slovak National Party (SNS)	2	9
Christian Democratic Movement (KDH)	1	8
Coalition of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Party (MKDH), EGYU:TTELES (ESWS), and the Hungarian People:Party (MSL)	2	7
Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD)	4	6
Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL)	3	6
Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC)	3	6
Liberal Social Union (LSU—grouping of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Agrarian Party and the Green Party)	2	5
Social Democratic Party in Slovakia (SDSS)	1	5
	—	—
	26	150

Czech Dailies Review 5-6 June Election Outcome

AU1006120492 Prague CSTK in English 0824 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 9 (CSTK)—Commenting on the past weekend's parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia, LIDOVE NOVINY writes that the failure of the Civic Movement (OH) and the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) shows that parties without a permanent following, mobilising themselves only in the pre-election period, cannot be successful in a duel with organised party structures.

Federal Finance Minister and Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Chairman Vaclav Klaus says in CESKY DENIK that in the search for a reasonable future state setup it is necessary to seek basic consent from such parties like the Czechoslovak Social Democrats (CSSD) and the Liberal Social Union (LSU).

In an interview for LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE chairman of the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) Josef Lux says the failure of the centrist parties is a lesson that whoever does not make clear his attitude to economic reforms will fail.

ODS Deputy Chairman Josef Zieleniec says in LIDOVE NOVINY that occupying the post of federal foreign minister would be very important for Slovakia. It would be a factor cementing the common state, he says.

Karel Kriz writes in the same paper that Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), has been elected by those who hope that only Meciar himself is capable of making the most from bargaining with the Czechs. "Klaus, and this we can be sure of, will prefer cutting off a 'diseased limb' rather than sacrifice the pampered child of economic reforms", Kriz says.

In connection with concerns about a possible break-up of the Czechoslovak Federation, Milan Vodicka writes in MLADA FRONTA DNES that after Western Europe burnt its fingers in the Balkans, it will do very little to help Czechoslovakia survive. The reason can also be the presidential elections in the United States, before which President Bush will not risk interfering in a faraway place.

In another article the same daily compares the situation in Czechoslovakia with conditions in Yugoslavia. It sees the only analogy between the two countries in that Slovak politicians prefer sovereignty to the currently existing model of the federation. After more than 70 years of coexistence the Czechs and Slovaks feel no need to settle accounts between one another, as the Serbs and Croatians are doing, the paper says.

RUDE PRAVO writes that unless the main political forces in the Czech and Slovak Republics decide to support President Vaclav Havel's candidacy for the post, "we shall be without a president after October 5, by when Havel must leave the post".

In an interview for MLADA FRONTA DNES, Czechoslovak Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy says it is necessary to reduce subsidies for agriculture, but not to eliminate them completely.

Slovak Industry Minister Jan Holcik says in the daily TELEGRAF that he himself has as many powers as he wants. "I have so much authority that I don't need to go to Prague to ask for permission to do this or that", Holcik says.

Slovak Dailies Review 5-6 June Election Outcome

AU1006120792 Prague CSTK in English 0840 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Bratislava—The Slovak daily NARODNA OBRODA writes that Slovakia's political leaders are not trying to break away or even become isolated from the Czech Republic. According to the paper, they are working to remove hitherto-existing asymmetry in relations between the Czech and Slovak Republics. In the current

situation, ideas on how to realise Slovakia's ambitions on the international scene cannot exclude compromises with the Czech leaders. The paper writes that right at the beginning of talks on forming a new Federal Government it will be proposed that the foreign minister be a Slovak. A political agreement and institutional guarantees should ensure that citizens of the Slovak Republic can take part in representing abroad the interests of both the country's republics. The paper emphasises that this demand should also apply to both the activities of ambassadors and the personnel of the Foreign Ministry.

In an interview with the daily KORIDOR, deputy chairman of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) Augustin Marian Huska says that if Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus and Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy had not made great gestures in talks with the former Council For Mutual Economic Aid (COMECON), the course of economic reform would now be less severe. Huska says attempts to use the Slovak market for Czech and West European surplus goods must be eliminated. He says the HZDS expects that an investigatory committee will be created in the Slovak parliament to deal with privatisation. The HZDS wants to create special control bodies which will examine all irregularities already existing in the privatisation campaign. Huska says the HZDS wants to complete this cleansing process as it is in the interests of real entrepreneurs and creative people, who bring to business a real spark rather than deception and mafia-like tactics.

Chairman of the Democratic Left Party (SDL) Peter Weiss, whose party came in second place in the elections in Slovakia, told the daily SMENA that he was surprised at the way the HZDS dominated the elections, though he accepts it as reality. He says that in order for Slovakia to solve the problems it has inherited both from the former regime and the government of the past two years, it is necessary to come to the widest possible political agreement with the Czech Republic. He told the paper that the SDL has not yet discussed the candidacy of Vaclav Havel for Czechoslovak president, which, he says, is an issue to be resolved by political agreements.

SLOVENSKY DENNIK writes that chills go up the spine of any sensible person when examining the results of last week's elections, and when he sees the possible return of practically unlimited power of one party. The paper writes that though the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) did not receive a significant percentage of votes in the elections, it has remained a political force which even a hurricane of hate and intolerance has not pushed aside. It is possible, the paper continues, that the KDH will again take power, when "thanks to the new dictators, we will be in serious trouble".

In an interview with the daily TELEGRAF, the Czechoslovak Eastern Army commander, Lieutenant General Jozef Tuchyna, says that the professionalisation of the Czechoslovak Army, as experience has proven, will require an enormous amount of money, which the Army does not have. Tuchyna told the paper that the Army is, however, currently comparable to that of Czechoslovakia's neighbors, including those of a number of West European countries. He said the Army's training level is even higher in some areas.

Dubcek Likely To Keep Federal Assembly Seat

AU1006133892 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 8 Jun 92 p 3

[CSTK report in the "Chronicle" column]

[Text] Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek will, with all probability, keep his Federal Assembly seat. He was the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia's campaign leader in the elections to the Federal Assembly Chamber of Nations, and so far this party has won four seats in this chamber (it won 7.74 percent of the vote in the West Slovakia electoral district). The positions could still be changed by preferential votes, but observers think this is unlikely.

Communist Leader Supports Preservation of State

AU1006134992 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jun 92 p 2

[Interview with Jiri Svoboda, chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, by a "(go)"-signed reporter; place and date not given: "We Do Not Want a Policy of Colonial Countries"]

[Text] [RUDE PRAVO] The Left Block came second. Do you expect certain cooperation with the winner— the coalition of the Civic Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Party?

[Svoboda] This was an unexpected question, but I think that we will certainly cooperate on some problems and issues with anyone who strives to preserve democracy in the CSFR, principles of a law- abiding state, and the common state.

[RUDE PRAVO] What will be your priority in the Federal Assembly?

[Svoboda] The most important issue is the issue of preserving the common state. A second, and related issue, is to pass a qualified judgment on the impact of economic reform and the skill with which it is being implemented, and to carry out such corrections as would make the economic transformation acceptable from the social point of view. This means, reform that would not overstep society' limits of social sensitivity, beyond which serious and uncontrollable social conflicts could take place. On the other hand, we will try to stop the structural character of our economy getting close to that of colonial countries, which did happen in the past two years, and to create conditions to ensure the compatibility of our economy with the economy of developed Western countries, which is a prerequisite for us to take part in the integration of Europe.

[RUDE PRAVO] Do you know whom are you going to support as a candidate for presidency?

[Svoboda] The office of the president must be a stabilizing factor for our society. The thing is, what candidates will we have to chose from. In no case do we overestimate our own role. Of the proposed candidates we will support the one who will secure, for our common state, an impartial execution of his presidential function, trustworthy international representation, and, at the same time, will be a stabilizing factor for the preservation of our common state.

Study Examines Views of Meciar Supporters

AU1006112392

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 5 June on page 7 carries a 1,300-word "sla"-signed article entitled "Who Votes Whom in Slovakia." The article reviews the conclusions of a study entitled "Profiles of Supporters of Political Parties," which was carried out by the Bratislava Institute for Social Analysis in April 1992. The study was based on replies by 2,887 Slovak respondents.

The article includes the study's data on attitudes of supporters of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), the subsequent winner of the parliamentary elections in Slovakia. It notes, among other things, that 22 percent of respondents who said that they support the HZDS favor a confederation and 19 percent an independent Slovak state, while "59 percent of HZDS sympathizers to not endorse independence" for Slovakia.

As far as attitudes to the economy are concerned, the MLADA FRONTA DNES article notes that, according to the study, 50 percent of HZDS voters "wish to preserve the dominance of the state sector," while only 20 percent of them "wish the continuation of privatization." About 44 percent of HZDS voters are "nostalgic for the regime of real socialism," the article says, which is more than the Slovak average. An above-average number (68 percent of HZDS sympathizers, compared with 58 percent for Slovak voters at large) are "attracted by the idea of strong rule by a single leader." HZDS supporters are also said to be above-average advocates of the system of "direct democracy"—77 percent of them, against 69 percent of Slovak respondents at large, believe that the government ought to be responsible "directly to the people, rather than to parliament." Along with sympathizers of the Party of the Democratic Left and the Slovak National Party, HZDS sympathizers are also said to be among those Slovak voters "having the least confidence in the EC" (the article does not provide any data to furnish evidence of this claim).

Summing up, the article notes that "the HZDS to a very large extent attracts people who are willing to let themselves be ruled and who demand a strong government. At the same time its supporters include an above-average percentage of those who grieve for the past regime."

Fate of Nuclear Plant To Be Discussed 15 Jun

LD1106082492 Prague CSTK in English 2035 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 10 (CSTK)—The Czech Government confirmed at its regular session today it will meet for a special session Monday, June 15, to discuss the problem of the Temelin nuclear power plant in South Bohemia.

Czech Premier Petr Pithart said the current government cannot decide Temelin's future due to the situation following the June 5-6 elections. It is its duty, however, to submit to the public all variants concerning the plant and information about the consequences linked to the completion or halting of its construction.

Launched in mid-1980, the construction of the Temelin plant, which is located near the town of Ceske Budejovice less than 100 kilometres from the Austrian border, was to have been completed by this year.

In early 1990, the government formed after the November 1989 overthrow of Communist rule in Czechoslovakia decided to go through with only two of the plant's four Soviet—designed VVER 1000-MW units, on the condition that they be outfitted with safety systems of Western design.

On May 13, Pithart said Temelin's future was "more open than ever before" and refused to rule out the possibility of the project being brought to a halt.

This morning, representatives of the Czech environmental initiative "the children of the earth" handed to Pithart a second open letter to the Czech and Czechoslovak Governments pointing out the risks of Temelin's construction.

Pithart agreed with Jindrich Petrlik of the group that better than Temelin's completion would be a more effective use of energy and the construction of small hydroelectric power plants.

Speaking with CSTK, Pithart said that due to the election result, the Czech Government has lost its mandate to decide about Temelin's future. It will nevertheless take a stand at its session on Monday that will have to be taken into consideration by the future government.

The Czechoslovak "Cez" joint stock company, the investor of Temelin's construction, estimates the cost of the power plant's completion at 68,100 million crowns (about 2,270 million USD), while halting its construction and conservation of its units would cost an estimated 47,700 million crowns (about 1,600 million USD).

Bretislav Horak of the Cez told a press conference here yesterday that the project's liquidation would come to 53,000 million crowns (some 1,800 million USD). Frantisek Poukar, director of the Temelin power plant, said it would be most advantageous to complete the plant and put it in operation, recalling that the first unit is completed at 93 per cent as to the construction work and at 60 per cent as to technology (as for the second unit, the

percentages are 60 and 30 respectively). All accompanying facilities are almost completed, Poukar said.

The environmental group "Greenpeace Czechoslovakia" said in a statement passed to CSTK today that the Cez spokesman had refused to answer the group's questions concerning Temelin's construction. According to Greenpeace, the Cez thus made it clear it is afraid of a public debate on the issue.

According to Petr Hlobil of the group, Ge Cez manipulates the figures concerning the construction since hardly two identical data can be found in various documents and statements issued by Cez representatives.

The U.S. power international company's estimate of the cost of Temelin's construction went up to 120,000 million crowns (4,000 million USD). However, Frank Muelner of the U.S. consultative company Halliburton Nus told yesterday's press conference that this figure is based solely on U.S. experience and does not take into view either conditions in Temelin or European experience.

EC Suspects CSFR Steelmakers of 'Dumping'

AU0906124992 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 2 Jun 92 pp 1,31

[CSTK report: "Regarding Steel Exports"]

[Text] Brussels—A statement was released to the press in the Belgian capital yesterday on the first session of the EC-CSFR Joint Committee, which convened in Brussels on 21 May and discussed the contribution made by the 1990 cooperation agreement, fulfillment of the Interim Trade Agreement to date, and issues associated with trade between the CSFR and the EC in 1991.

The statement concerns Czechoslovak steel exports to EC countries. According to the Interim Agreement, no quantitative limits were set on Czechoslovak steel exports. Nevertheless, the EC Commission—obviously, under pressure from West European producers and in view of the severe marketing crisis facing the European steel industry—expressed its grave anxiety and alarm about the large increase in Czechoslovak steel products to certain EC countries during the first quarter of this year. There was even a suspicion of dumping, which the CSFR denied.

Nonetheless, in the joint statement Czechoslovakia undertook to consider the possibility of partially "reorienting" the export of some of its steel products in order to achieve greater balance in the geographical and merchandise structure of its shipments.

Germany Said to Increase Investments in Region

AU0906124392 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 1 Jun 92 p 14

[CSTK report: "An Increase in German Investments in Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] Bonn—Germany invested 790 million marks in the CSFR last year. According to the Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs in Bonn, overall FRG foreign investments in 1991 amounted to around 29 billion marks.

In general, Germany's foreign investments declined and were 8.0 percent lower than in 1990. However, they increased in Central and East Europe where 1.4 billion marks were invested in comparison to the 250 million marks invested in 1990. Almost 60 percent of German investments in this part of the continent flowed into the CSFR last year. The German Industry Federation has stated that it is possible to envisage an increased influx of FRG capital to Czechoslovakia this year and next year.

The well known investments from Volkswagen, Babcock-Borsig, Eurotec Systemteile, Siemens, Mercedes-Benz, and Linde are among the largest German projects in the CSFR. Volkswagen alone wants to invest some 9.0 billion marks until 1998 in the Skoda Mlada Boleslav automobile plant and thus build the biggest joint enterprise in the reforming East European countries.

The main flow of German investments—some 20 billion marks—was directed toward European Community countries last year. Ireland alone absorbed 6.6 billion marks.

Czechoslovakia Asked To Stop Diverting Danube

LD1006175992 Budapest MTI in English 1652 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 10 (MTI)—The Hungarian Government has called on Czechoslovakia to immediately stop rechannelling the Danube at Cilistov, an illegal and ecologically harmful operation, and to observe the two countries' agreement on frontier waters.

In a verbal note presented by the official-in-charge at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry to the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest, the Hungarian Government confirmed its intentions to start early negotiations on a new inter-state treaty replacing the cancelled inter-state treaty of 1977.

Talks on Former Soviet Barracks Stalled

AU1006105692 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 4 Jun 92 p 1

[Interview with Defense Ministry Spokesman Lajos Erdelyi by Zoltan Fekete; place and date not given: "From Zero to a Solution"]

[Text] Defense Ministry Spokesman Lajos Erdelyi gave us an interview about the fate of the barracks and military installations of the former Soviet troops in Hungary and about the situation along Hungary's southern border.

[Fekete] Defense Ministry State Secretary Antal Annus said recently that negotiations on the withdrawal of Soviet troops could be resumed in June.

[Erdelyi] Negotiations have not yet started. As we all known, Antal Annus wrote a letter to his Russian colleague on 7 April and proposed to draw up a written document on the so-called zero solution, in accordance with the agreement in principle reached at the summit between Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Russian President Boris Yeltsin in December.

A letter of response arrived from one of the members of the Russian negotiating team, which proposed the continuation of talks in June, but this letter made no reference to the proposals we submitted on 7 April. The Hungarian side thinks that, under these circumstances, the two sides should not negotiate, but rather coordinate their positions within the framework of limited consultations. We also submitted this proposal in writing.

[Fekete] Alarming news is coming from Vojvodina. New military drafts have been carried out among the Hungarian population, and the Hungarian police chief in Horgos and the Border Police in Roszke have been replaced by Serbs. Has the Hungarian Army thought of some kind of response?

[Erdelyi] The UN embargo does not affect the Hungarian Army. Our soldiers are living their everyday life. However, the previous measures we took in connection with the Southern Slav crisis continue in effect, but no other measures have been taken by the Hungarian Army.

Bonn Envoy Refuses Nomination to Security Office

LD1006143792 Budapest MTI in English 1835 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 9 (MTI)—Attila Csenger-Zalan resigned as Hungary's ambassador to Bonn, and also turned down a nomination as national security office head today.

Csenger-Zalan was tried in court in 1989 for causing a fatal car accident a year before. The final verdict, however, cleared him of the detrimental consequences of acquiring a criminal record.

Parliament's National Security Committee chairman, Laszlo Kover expressed deep disapproval that Csenger-Zalan had failed to inform a parliamentary committee hearing before his appointment as ambassador to Germany that he had once stood trial.

According to Kover, it is morally condemnable that this part of Csenger-Zalan's history had been concealed from the public and was only disclosed to those approving his appointment as ambassador by the newspapers.

Prime Minister Jozsef Antall had recently nominated Csenger-Zalan for the post of national security office head, made vacant in March by the voluntary retirement of Andras Galszecsy.

Budapest: Central Europe's Commodities Center

LD1006182692 Budapest MTI in English 1343 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 10 (MTI)—The government's plan is to make Hungary into central Europe's financial and commodity centre, Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa said at a conference titled Budapest Commodity Exchange 2000 today.

A study prepared by U.S. Stock Market experts on the development prospects of the Budapest Commodity Exchange [BCE] is highly important in achieving this aim, he said.

The participants were given an overview of the study prepared by two Chicago exchanges on the development prospects of the Budapest Commodity Exchange.

Kupa said that since its establishment as a private venture in 1990, the BCE has experienced considerable development without any state interference, with turnover last year topping HUF [Hungarian forints] 2 billion, a figure it expects to boost to HUF 6-7 billion in 1992.

The finance minister said that the history of the BCE gives a realistic basis to plans to expand current trading in meat and grain to energy, especially futures trading in crude oil.

Economic Promotion With East Slovakia Opens

LD1106095892 Budapest MTI in English 2014 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Michalovce, June 10 (MTI)—A three-day regional economic and trade promotion meeting between north Hungary and east Slovakia opened in Michalovce, east Slovakia, on Wednesday.

Gabor Gyulai, commissioner of the republic for north Hungary, recalled that promising initiatives for developing economic, commercial and business activities in north Hungary, east Slovakia, south Poland and Subcarpathia have been going on for one and a half years now.

People in east Slovakia and North Hungary greatly depend on each other, as is indicated by similar patterns of industrial and agricultural activity, Gyulai said. He announced that three new crossing points would soon open on the border between east Slovakia and north Hungary.

Martin Pado, president of the regional office of Michalovce, confirmed neighbouring areas, intentions to overcome their nearly identical economic problems with joint efforts, on the basis of concerted plans.

Thirty companies and ventures from Borsod-Heves-Nograd county are currently displaying their marketable products at the conference, and about 150 Slovak firms are holding talks on continuing the development of mutually advantageous relations.

To an MTI query, Ferenc Nemeth, representative from the Ministry of International Economic Relations, trade counsellor at the Hungarian Consulate General in Bratislava, stated there are good opportunities for cooperation in light industry and agriculture.

In previous years, border-zone trade along a more than 600 km border section accounted for about 20 per cent of Hungarian- Czechoslovak inter-state trade. In 1990-1991, this ratio dropped to a minimum.

The counsellor announced a joint Slovak-Hungarian bank will be organized to finance joint ventures.

Ministry Says Unemployment Reaches 522,700

LD1006181692 Budapest MTI in English 1547 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 10 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Preliminary Ministry of Labour figures put the number of unemployed at the end of May at 522,700, or 9.7 per cent, a rise of 20,000 over April.

However, the growth in unemployment slowed in May, mainly due to the start of seasonal jobs, a ministry official told MTI today.

406,600 jobless now receive unemployment benefit, 14,000 more than a month ago, while 5,400 were granted social security in May after becoming ineligible for more unemployment benefit, the ministry official said.

At the same time, there were 23,000 registered job vacancies last month, twice the January figure.

Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen county has the highest unemployment rate,—16.3 per cent—while Budapest has the lowest figure,—4.1 per cent.

Government Amends Foreign Exchange Policy

LD1006182992 Budapest MTI in English 1354 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 10 (MTI)—An amendment to a 1974 decree on foreign exchange policy was passed by the Hungarian parliament today.

The amendment facilitates the creation of an inter-bank internal foreign exchange market, meaning exchange rates will take shape according to the rules of supply and demand.

The amendment, to take effect as of 1 July 1992, lifts a ban on concluding agreements on exchanging foreign currency for forints, or vice versa, at exchange rates other than the official rate.

The National Bank of Hungary will continue to set official foreign exchange rates from day to day, which will provide a guarantee that banks will exchange currencies at the official rate for foreign traders and those entitled to buy foreign currency.

The new bill on foreign exchange policy will be worked out by September and submitted to parliament by the third quarter of this year, said Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa.

Pawlak Dismisses Idea of Calling New Elections

LD1006211192 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Report on news conference given by Premier Waldemar Pawlak in Warsaw on 10 June, including recorded segments of Pawlak remarks]

[Text] [Announcer] Premier Waldemar Pawlak has hopes of a rapid conclusion to the talks on forming a government. During a news conference, he assessed the talks to date with the Small Coalition and the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] as holding out a chance of finding a common program platform, perhaps within the coming week.

[Pawlak] The course of yesterday's talks is a basis for optimism here, and it turns out that sometimes the same matters are spoken about using [words indistinct] and when it comes to specific formulations, a compromise can be found, and in my opinion such a compromise will be reached.

[Announcer] Journalists were most doubtful about the possibility of the KPN entering the coalition.

[Pawlak] During yesterday's meeting of the coalition groups, reservations were expressed by the KPN. During the discussion, we arrived at formulae acceptable to individual groups, for example, a formula linked to the agreement on EEC associate membership, where we accept as a target the signing of a ratification agreement together with a package of organizational and legal solutions allowing the Polish economy to adapt to the operating conditions of the EEC economy and utilizing all the factors in the agreement, so that the Polish economy will find itself in a position enabling full entry to the EEC. We are looking for solutions acceptable to all participants.

[Announcer] In Premier Waldemar Pawlak's opinion, the idea of holding early elections is not a good one.

[Pawlak] I think that we need work now, not an election campaign. We need to show what we can do it through concrete work, not by sticking up posters; to show that solutions can be found and effectively implemented.

[Announcer] The premier stated that he was forced to make a decision on the summary transfer of the post of director of the Office of the Council of Ministers to Aleksander Luczak, because Wojciech Wlodarczyk, the previous director, had refused to carry out the premier's instructions and also refused to leave his office.

Pawlak explained that the announced meeting with Solidarity's Network did not take place, because the meeting of their representatives with President Lech Walesa ran over.

Premier Waldemar Pawlak could not say what Minister Antoni Macierewicz told him about who blackmailed him when he was to reveal the Security Services and Security Office files.

KLD Will Not Compromise on Economic Matters

LD1006220792 Warsaw PAP in English 1913 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 10—Leader of the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD) Donald Tusk declared Wednesday that the KLD was ready to enter the government of Waldemar Pawlak and take ministerial posts in the economic sphere if the prime minister publicly accepted the party's conditions.

These were: Respecting the 5 percent deficit limitation of the budget, maintaining the relative expenditures in the budget, energetically proceeding with the mass privatisation programme and continuing with the measures resulting from the agreement on associate membership of the EC. These conditions, stressed Tusk, "cannot be subject to compromise."

On the new governments chances Tusk said, "if the government entered only by the KLD and PSL (Polish Peasant Party) does not win the support of parliament, then we shall face the prospect of speedy elections," and added that the KLD leadership had already called on its parliamentary floor group to prepare amendments to the electoral law.

In answer to a reporters question, Tusk said he did not know that Pawlak was to offer the deputy premiership to former premier and KLD MP [member of parliament] Jan Krzysztof Bielecki.

KLD MP Jacek Merkel announced that the KLD would be proposing its own bill on revealing the identities of former Secret Police collaborators based on criminal legal procedure.

KPN's Caucus Leader Favors Early Elections

LD1006151992 Warsaw PAP in English 0820 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 10—Head of the parliamentary floor group of the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) Krzysztof Krol told the Zet radio station Wednesday that it would be highly likely and best to hold elections ahead of schedule in the present situation.

According to Krol, the Sejm is much fragmented and it will be difficult to form any coalition. A government made up of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), the KPN, the Democratic Union (UD), the Christian National Union (ZCHN), the Liberal-Democratic Congress (KLD) and part of the Centre Alliance (PC) would stand chances for survival. It could be headed by KPN leader Leszek Moczulski but neither did Krol rule out present Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak.

There are major differences between the KPN and the KLD, the PSL and the UD during the current talks on the formation of a new government, and this is so despite great will of all parties to reach agreement, Krol said.

He recalled that the KPN would not give up an open budget, repaying the debt of state enterprises and a change in the rate of refinancing credit so that it would be more profitable to invest than to save money in a bank.

The head of the KPN floor group said that the "Olszewski government ran out of its potential, brought Poland to the brink of an abyss and actually did not pursue any program."

Walesa Reveals His Former Secret Police Files

LD1006173792 Warsaw PAP in English 1606 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 10—President Lech Walesa revealed documents of the former Secret Police (SB), which had been intended to discredit him, to trade union representatives at the Belvedere Presidential Palace on Wednesday. The documents included records of conversations with his brother.

During the meeting with members of the National Agreement of Solidarity Factory Committees known as the "Siec" (Network) and the Workers Ownership Union, Walesa said he wanted to show how easy it had been for the SB to prepare compromising documents.

"All Poland is discussing the subject of the agents, an important question needing to be finally cleared up, but it is not the only subject which Poland should occupy itself with," declared the president hoping that the meeting would concern itself with the most important problems of the country, above all economic ones.

"If we do not create a hierarchy of priorities then I am afraid that the country will sink even further, will become second rate, and that the final outcome may be very dangerous," maintained Walesa.

Commenting on recent events in Poland Walesa added, "at the last moment we succeeded in stopping irresponsible people, irresponsible actions. That does not mean that I will not endeavour constantly to clear these matters up."

The president told the Siec leaders, who represent the workforces in Polands biggest workplaces such as the Gdansk shipyard and the Ursus tractor plant, that his next meeting with them would take place a week after the formation of a new government at the latest.

He promised he would help in future talks with ministers. "If some minister does not agree, he will resign and there will be another one," said Walesa.

The trade union side supported the presidents efforts in maintaining the policies for transforming the economic system of which the president is the guarantor, according to the presidential press office.

It favoured the idea of a government above party politics and asked Walesa whether he would take the premiership. The president replied that this would be his "last shot". "I cannot fire my last bullet, while there are still other chances," he said.

The Siec delegates also supported the idea of granting all adult Poles 100 million zlotys (around 70,000 dollars), which had been proposed by Walesa. The president commented that today it would have to be around 500 million.

Army Daily Denounces Jaruzelski's Memoirs

AU1006084092 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 3 Jun 92 p 3

[Bohdan Rodziewicz article: "Between Salvation and Mutilation"]

[Text] If anyone reading Wojciech Jaruzelski's book *Martial Law—Why?* [*Stan Wojenny—Dlaczego?*] expects to find revelations or sensations, he will be greatly disappointed. Instead, he will find cold, heavy thoughts from a man on the subject of the most dramatic decision of his life, the decision to introduce martial law in Poland on 13 December 1981. These thoughts are dominated by self-justification, dubious historical theories, a serious conviction about the reformability of the system, and, above all, a mythology created by the author for his own purposes.

"...I have been asked many times if I regret the decision to introduce martial law. I have committed many errors in my life, but that was not one of them. I consider that decision a bitter, painful, and dramatic necessity. I maintain this view despite all the time that has gone by" (page 10). "...Martial law was a salvation, but also a mutilation. That is why people say it was a lesser evil. Operations like that always leave painful scars. It achieved its immediate basic objective. It prevented a catastrophe. But it did not fulfill many long-term expectations" (page 423).

Let us take a closer look at these key quotations from the book. It transpires from them that from the very beginning right up to the very end, Wojciech Jaruzelski considered himself to be a man with clean hands. If that is the case, why did he order the destruction of martial law documentation that could have confirmed his opinion about himself? Why has he forced us to rely solely on what he is saying? What he says frequently departs from the truth.

The field operation groups "were meant to eliminate various distortions in the functioning of local authorities and offer help to local communities." Really? Were these groups not supposed to get officers acquainted with the areas in which martial law was to be implemented? How can one reconcile the general's theory about the necessity

of national accord with the martial law preparations, which lasted many months? The general says nothing about these precise and comprehensive preparations. He remains silent because that is the most convenient thing to do. He suggests that these preparations did not commence until November. That is about as true as his statement that it is General Anders' fault that 1.5 million Poles previously deported into the depths of Russia were left to their fate (page 277).

These views are not a different view of history. They are quite simply a departure form the truth. The distortions in this book go hand in hand with the myths created by Jaruzelski. One such myth is the general's conviction that martial law paved the way for dialogue and accord (page 412), and that it even made them possible (page 283). Jaruzelski believes that if the changes in 1981 had taken place more slowly, calmly, and gracefully, "we could have been the locomotive of change for the entire system" (page 310).

Indeed one might believe these fairy tales if one were to forget Brezhnev's imperial appetite in 1981 or the theory, ever-present in communism, of the leading role of the party. We remember very well the party's dialogue with the nation in 1970, 1976, and 1981, especially the dialogue at the "Wujek" coal mine [striking miners were shot by the security forces] and in the internment camps.

This tone of self-justification is the most difficult thing to digest about the whole book. Of course, everyone is to blame for martial law—Western Europe, America, and sometimes even the ugly old men from the East—but it does not matter to Jaruzelski, because Mr. Anthony Lewis from THE NEW YORK TIMES is reported to have written: "General Jaruzelski's decision to hit Solidarity by means of martial law is understandable" (cited on page 364) or, a little further, Helmuth Schmidt is quoted by Jaruzelski as saying: "I think Jaruzelski is acting in the way he considers best from the point of view of Polish interests." (page 365).

Jaruzelski presents many such panegyrics. It is a pity he never paused to consider even for a moment that he was acting against himself, and in bad taste, too, for who in his right mind can justify a decision that caused injustice and harm to thousands of people?

One can multiply the charges against Wojciech Jaruzelski. However, one must also render him justice, for his pen paints a discreet background picture of a horribly subjugated Poland, a country trodden upon by foreign armies, where foreign generals intervene and threaten, a country that is economically, politically, and militarily worn out, a country that has been sold into bondage.

So despite the assessment of Jaruzelski's book, I would recommend that people read it just because of this disturbing and shocking background, and ask them to postpone a final answer to the question whether martial law was a salvation or a mutilation until the day all the documents on martial law are revealed, provided, of course, that not everything has been destroyed.

(Footnote) Wojciech Jaruzelski: "Martial Law—Why?" The BGW Polish Publishing House, Warsaw 1992, 437 pages. Price 50,000 zlotys.

Council of Ministers Head Dismissed by Pawlak

LD1006154392 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1200 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak has met Jozef Zych, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Polish Peasant Party. We only know they discussed matters associated with the creation of a new cabinet. Earlier the government press office reported that the prime minister today released Minister Wojciech Wlodarczyk from the duty of coordinating the government's current work.

Party X Leader Charged With Slandering Daily

LD1006123292 Warsaw PAP in English 2228 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Kielce, June 9—Leader of the party "X" Stanislaw Tyminski and Jozef Kossecki will be taken to court for spreading an allegation that the largest Polish daily GAZETA WYBORCZA was employing over one thousand "sayanims" (Jewish patriot spy) who fill data banks with information about Poland.

The indictment was submitted to a regional court in Kielce by Bogdan Bialek, editor-in-chief of GAZETA WYBORCZA's local edition in Kielce.

Tyminski and Kossecki are charged for distributing a pamphlet, titled "Plan X. Poland Needs Caretaker," during their press conference with residents of Kielce on June 5, which, says the indictment, included many slanderous phrases against "various political and occupational circles."

Iliescu, Leaders Agree on 27 Sep Election Date

AU1006110492 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Romania's President Mr. Ion Iliescu met this morning, at Cotroceni Palace, with party leaders and heads of parliamentary groups to fix the date of the elections. Messrs. Alexandru Barladeanu, president of the Senate, Dan Martian, speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, and Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan were also present.

At the beginning of the meeting, President Ion Iliescu said that there had been a real chance for the elections to be held before the summer vacation. However, that chance was missed due to various obstacles that were raised. The country's economic situation is deteriorating, President Ion Iliescu said. By fixing a date for elections as soon as possible, the government will be able to tackle the economic problems facing the country.

On the basis of considerations made at the government level, Mr. Theodor Stolojan proposed that date of 27 September for holding the elections, that is, the last Sunday in the month of September. In proposing this date, the prime minister also presented a calendar of the stages that have to be covered for the elections to be held on 27 September 1992. The prime minister expressed the conviction that fixing and announcing the date of the elections on 27 September will clarify many things in the country and also prove abroad that the will exists to hold elections within a reasonable span of time.

On this occasion, Mr. Theodor Stolojan presented several groups of problems currently being dealt with by the government: ensuring resources for agricultural operations; ensuring the minimum energy requirements for the winter period; and preparing the budget for 1993. Other problems refer to the progress of the economic reform; ensuring the funds for the state and private properties; and preparations for the introduction of the value added tax. The prime minister also said that one should also prepare for the 1 September deadline, when certain subsidies for consumer goods will be eliminate. Likewise, the government also plans to take steps, some quite severe, to restructure certain economic subbranches. We will all go down the drain if we do no put order in certain economic sectors, Mr. Theodor Stolojan said.

During the meeting, which ended a few minutes ago, the following gentlemen took the floor: Dan Lazarescu, the National Liberal Party [PNL]; Sergiu Cunescu, the Romanian Social Democratic Party [PSDR]; Corneliu Coposu, the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD]; Petre Roman, the National Salvation Front [FSN]; Ion Manzatu, the Republican Party; Oliviu Gherman, the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN]; Victor Surdu, the Romanian Agrarian Democratic Party [PDAR]; Ion I. Bratianu, the Bratianu Liberal Union; Radu Ceontea, the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR]; Serghei Mesaros, the Social Democratic Union Party [PUSD]; Horia Rusu, the National Liberal Party-Young Wing [PNL- AT]; Lucian Cornescu, the Traditional Social Democratic Party [PSDT]; Cornel Nica, the Socialist Democratic Party of Labor [PSDM]; Geza Domokos, the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR]; Gheorghe Raducanu, the Romanies Party; Otto Weber, the Romanian Ecologist Party [PER]; Ion Ratiu, PNTCD; Ovidiu (?Tocaci), the Romanian Ecologist Movement [MER]; Marian Enache, the Future for Romania Parliamentary Group; Stefan Cazimir, the Free Exchange Party; Ioan Gavra, PUNR; Petrisor (?Mora), the Romanian Democratic Front-Timisoara; and Radu Campeanu, PNL.

All speakers considered 27 September as the logical and suitable date for the organization of elections and assessed as realistic the calendar of the electoral stages proposed by the prime minister of the government. Concerning the simultaneous holding of legislative and presidential elections, part of the speakers considered this as unsuitable and spoke out for holding them separately. Other speakers spoke out for and brought arguments in favor of holding them simultaneously.

In conclusion, President Ion Iliescu said that a consensus has been reached on accepting the government's proposal to hold the elections on 27 September. He asked the prime minister to prepare the respective bill and submit it today to Parliament, together with the calendar of the electoral stages.

Stolojan Comments on Elections

AU1106064992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1859 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/6/1992—Premier Theodor Stolojan told a Wednesday, June 10, news briefing that the government sitting held the same day discussed the bill on polling date. The premier mentioned he still thought elections should have been held on July 26, but it was clear that date was out of question at that moment. "When one collides with a wall, one does not go on repeating the move, until he gets properly hurt," said the premier. He pleaded for elections on September 27, showing among other things that magistrates and other people playing a role in the preparation and holding of polls go on holidays in August.

The head of the executive mentioned that the politicians who had met President Ion Iliescu on June 10 had virtually reached consensus on holding elections on September 27, with only two exceptions. That is the message to be sent to Romania, and particularly outside Romania, to prove that nobody wants to bar the process of democratization, said the prime minister, who reminded that debates had been delayed by events such as a split in the National Salvation Front, the withdrawal of the National Liberal Party from the Democratic Convention, and new groupings of political forces.

Mr. Stolojan mentioned that Thursday, June 11, he would send to Parliament the bill proposing that presidential and parliamentary elections be held on September 27.

The government also discussed the application of the U.N. Security Council sanctions against Yugoslavia, which are burdensome for Romania. The premier told the June 10 news conference that files would be concluded in two or three days, containing the Romanian-Yugoslav actions which the Romanian party considers impossible to be halted from its point of view. These are going to be sent to the United Nations. If the Security Council decides nevertheless that those activities have to be stopped, Romania will stop them, but will also present the serious consequences it has to bear, added the premier.

As for the application of the law on the budget on 1992, Premier Theodor Stolojan told the news conference that an extra-budget fund would be created for the Ministry of National Defense, which is facing a shortage of financial resources.

The Romanian Premier also referred to the assets claimed by the Greek-Catholic Church, some of which can already pass into the possession of the said church, according to the premier. Some other claims need deeper analysis, added Mr. Stolojan.

The premier announced at the June 10 briefing that a decision was approved on 1992-1993 school year figures. A mention was made that 2.5 million lei had been earmarked from governmental funds for textbooks for the Republic of Moldova.

Further on Stolojan Comments

AU1106074992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0648 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/6/1992—Answering questions asked by journalists at a news briefing at the Government Headquarters on June 10, Premier Theodor Stolojan referred to the risks of delaying general elections until September 27. He said "the effects of this delay are indisputable and cannot be prevented. Nonetheless, measures must be undertaken to counteract the slowing down of the processes the country is involved in: the conclusion of commercial and financial accords, the inflow of foreign capital and investment, Romania's access to international bodies."

As for the government crisis in the Republic of Moldova, Mr. Stolojan stressed that the resignation decision was made by common agreement with President Mircea Snegur and Premier Muravschi, adding that the present cabinet of the Republic of Moldova remained in charge until the formation of the new government.

On a potential government reshuffle in Romania, the premier showed that the question had not been raised during the meeting at Cotroceni [presidency], but he added he requested the cabinet to advance proposals in the next two weeks for a reduction of the number of secretaries and undersecretaries of state, to the end of enhancing the role and responsibility of the directors in ministries.

At present there are no clear grounds on which a government reshuffle could be made, the premier further said.

FSN Wants Parliament To 'Certify' Date

AU1106064692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1825 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/6/1992—"No political partnership exists for the time being," Petre Roman, National Salvation Front [FSN] president, stated at a meeting of the FSN steering collegium held in Bucharest on June 10. "Because of this reason, the FSN leader went on, I have proposed—during the talk held at the Cotroceni presidential palace this morning, where decision was made that elections take place on September 27—that the first vote of the joint session of parliament's chambers certify this date."

The FSN steering collegium considers that the negative vote of parliament in the evening of June 8, rejecting July 26 as the date of general and presidential elections, caused grave prejudices to the democratic process of strengthening the country's political stability. The steering collegium empowers the FSN parliamentary group to attend the joint session of the parliament's two chambers, only provided that the first meeting should discuss and set the definitive date of the general elections for September 27, at the latest, in keeping with the latest proposal made by Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan, the communique of the FSN steering collegium reads.

Iliescu Answers Reporters

AU1006174592

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1500 GMT on 10 June carries an eight-minute recorded "news conference that took place today, 10 June, immediately after the meeting that President Ion Iliescu held with party leaders and heads of parliamentary groups" at Bucharest's Cotroceni Palace.

Commenting on today's meeting, Iliescu is heard saying: "I believe that it was a useful and fruitful dialogue. Since you attended the meeting, you were able to notice that the government presented its point of view, calculated the dates that are most realistic under the current situation—when the parliament has to finalize their laws and issue a preliminary schedule. However, as you could see, in spite of the evident and natural differences of opinion, the proposals met with the—I believe—unanimous support of the representatives of all parties. This is a good foundation for adequate activity in the parliament."

An unidentified reporter asks Iliescu whether the electoral law should not be presented to him in two days. Iliescu answers that such requirements are not realistic

"because a new element has come up, a new institution, namely the Constitutional Court, which as of now will have to validate the constitutionality of all laws adopted by the parliament before they are promulgated. Thus, first of all, the parliament should finish discussions. And you know that there are still discussions, that there are still problems that keep cropping up in connection with the electoral law. Today, the Senate is still discussing the mediation commission's report and certain problems might still persist, among which I could mention those that have been mentioned here, regarding the system of distributing votes. A few days are necessary to mediate these problems between the two chambers, and then the two chambers will adopt these laws. In connection with the date of elections, it was decided that a clear draft law will be worked out by the government and will be presented to the parliament, the decision regarding the date will be adopted, it will be validated by the Constitutional Commission, and will be presented to the president."

Interrupting the question of an unidentified reporter who says "thus we expect elections on 27 September," Iliescu is heard stating that "this time I am confident that we have all the requirements to organize elections under civilized and normal conditions, the way the government proposed them."

Answering an unidentified reporter's question on "what about a government reshuffling?" Iliescu replies: "I do not know. We must examine this issue together. First of all the government should evaluate this issue in its discussions with the major parties in Parliament and decide whether reshuffling is necessary now or not. I believe that the prime minister's choice is not to proceed to make changes within the government, except maybe small adjustments. However, this is an issue that first of all the government and the prime minister will have to determine. Maybe after consultations with political formations, a conclusion will be reached."

Answering a journalist's question whether the date of 27 September "finally reduces the temperature of Romania's political life," Iliescu says: "I hope so. First of all we have to take into consideration the given situation. In spite of the differences of opinion on this issue, this time, almost all party representatives have accepted the date and schedule proposed by the government, which proves a general feeling of realism, ensuring normal conditions, and holding fair, correct, and democratic elections under the most appropriate conditions."

Iliescu is asked whether holding parliamentary and presidential elections simultaneously would favor him, as he currently is "the most favored presidential candidate." He answers: "Some people think I am a hideous person who has no chances whatsoever, while others—on the contrary—think I am an awful man because I have the greatest chances. That is a quite confusing logic, and I do not know why they should be so afraid of me if I am not wanted by anyone. This is not a matter of subjective judgment concerning one candidate or another. If one candidate is chosen by the electorate, why should this be contested, why should he be prevented—let the electorate decide that issue, because that would be the democratic way."

"Holding separate elections would have the same negative consequences as perpetually postponing those elections, on the whole, because it would mean that the electoral cycle is not finished yet. We have now arrived at the end of a phase within the evolution of our political life. We have elaborated a constitution, we have had local elections, which established the basic units of our democratic institutions—on a local level—and now we have to conclude all that by establishing the central institutions. They are the two institutions that will be subjected to elections—the Parliament and the presidential office—and, closely related to them, all the other institutions as well: the juridical and executive bodies, and so on."

After mentioning that organizing presidential elections is much simpler than organizing parliamentary elections, Iliescu assesses that "the current situation in the country—the economic situation and the general climate in Romania—does not allow us to continually toy with elections by holding election after election every one or two months. The country's wish is to have this whole electoral process done with, and at the same time. This seems essential to me. Considering the political interests of our country, those interests demand that we organize simultaneous elections and have that process finished."

Asked whether a clear-cut decision concerning the date and schedule of the elections would make him state more clearly whether he will run for president, Iliescu answers that "I can only repeat what I already said: I will make a decision as soon as all these things become clearer."

Concerning culpability for the postponement of elections from 26 July to 27 September, Iliescu says that "it is no se passing judgments and seeking the ones to blame. There have probably been many causes that led to the delay."

FDSN Agrees With Proposed Date

AU1006211292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1802 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/6/1992—"Although the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] does not bear the responsibility for the postponement of elections, it agrees with the date forwarded by Premier Theodor Stolojan, namely 27 September," Senator Ilie Gitlan told a June 10 FDSN news conference. He opined that polls might not be held on July 26, and a hasty promulgation of the electoral laws would have transferred the president the parliament's responsibility. July elections would have implied an inefficient campaign for all political parties, with high absenteeism, and increased chances for the results of the polls to be questioned.

FDSN Platform Promotes 'Authentic Democracy'

AU1106080792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0700 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/6/1992—The Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] is a centre-left party which wants to promote the ideals of modern, realistic social democracy, to cultivate the values of an authentic democracy of a state of law, stated Oliviu Gherman, chairman of the Provisional Council of the Democratic National Salvation Front, at the meeting held in Bucharest on June 10 with ambassadors and other members of the diplomatic corps accredited to Romania. The Democratic National Salvation Front, the speaker stressed, is a party of reform and resolutely declares for an overall reformism which should cover all the facets of the political, economic, social and cultural life. But this should not be an act of leveling or egalitarianism, nor of general social tensions and antagonism, Oliviu Gherman said in conclusion mentioning that, on an external plane the FDSN will promote a policy in concordance with the major trends of international cooperation and understanding, of peace, of achieving the sacred national ideals.

Iliescu Discusses U.S. Ties, Election Issues

AU1006103392 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 3 Jun 92 pp 1,3

[Part One of interview with Romanian President Ion Iliescu by Aurel Perva; place and date not given: "I Have Noticed That America Has Decided To Open a New Chapter in our Relations"]

[Text] [Perva] You recently met with the U.S. deputy secretary of state [Lawrence S. Eagleburger] and you have also received a message from President Bush. My first question refers to this. Have you noticed a change in the United States' attitude to Romania and could you tell us what was in the president's message?

[Iliescu] I can give you a definite answer here and that is that I want to stress that the U.S. Administration believes that all misunderstandings are a thing of the past. I have noticed that the American side has decided to open a new chapter in our relations without any reservations. Within this context, we appreciate President Bush's decision to put forward to Congress a proposal to grant us most-favored-nation status. Other signs are the following: the conclusion of the commercial accord on 28 May 1992; the signing of the treaty on encouraging and granting investments; a few days ago the United States announced the decision to participate in 1992 in the act of the Group of 24 to set up a Credit Fund for Romania. Therefore, these are positive signs of an open, favorable, and encouraging position.

[Perva] You will soon be leaving for Rio de Janeiro to attend that very important international meeting, where I believe you are going to feel on home ground because of your known concern with ecologic issues. Will you meet with President Bush there?

[Iliescu] As far as I know, there will be 100 heads of state and government there.

[Perva] Do you have meetings already on your agenda that have previously been arranged through diplomatic channels?

[Iliescu] The arrangements continue, thus the schedule is not complete. Time is very short and many people are going to be there. Therefore, there will be meetings in halls, corridors, and during intermissions.

[Perva] Will you try to talk to President Yeltsin?

[Iliescu] I hope so. Likewise, as we have discussed the matter with President Snegur, while we are there we intend to organize a meeting with the heads of the four states [Moldova, Ukraine, Russia, and Romania] and find solutions to the Moldovan conflict.

[Perva] Are there chances that the conflict, which is becoming increasingly bloody, is going to end soon?

[Iliescu] It is difficult to foresee such a thing. I believe that the decision announced by President Yeltsin regarding the withdrawal of the 14th Army is a positive sign. But it is not everything, because there are not very encouraging signs in connection with the attitude of separatists in Tiraspol, who are calling on officers, hoping to integrate them in their own military groups. Things are not simple at all.

[Perva] The West has asked us to hold general elections as soon as possible. Does the West continue to regard a certain outcome of these elections as a condition for a more generous opening toward Romania?

[Iliescu] As far as the 28 May 1992 discussions with the American Administration, through its representative Mr. Eagleburger, are concerned, it was very clearly expressed that the United States is not interested in the persons elected or the results of the elections; it is interested only in the conclusion of this process and in political and economic stability. The same thing has been expressed in one way or another by other political figures as well. After all, within the framework of democratic international relations, respect for the choice of the electorate in each country is a basic requirement! Therefore, from this point of view, even if there were certain conditions set by the West, I believe that first of all our national dignity would require of us that we meet them in an adequate way. Both on the domestic and international plane, we want to establish a democratic framework for the development of our political life and for adequate relations with all countries. Even if somebody thinks otherwise, he cannot afford to express it because this would mean the flagrant violation of democratic behavior.

[Perva] Do you believe that the classical rules of diplomacy are being more and more frequently disregarded?

[Iliescu] Unfortunately, both in international life and in our own domestic life, mainly in the political field, one can frequently see a lack of coordination between word and deed. We have many people who say one thing but think and act in another way.

As far as the date of the elections is concerned, we are the ones who are mainly interested. We cannot talk about responding to outside demands. It would have been in our interest to conclude this electoral process as soon as possible. And we would have had appropriate conditions after the endorsement of the constitution. It is now six months since 8 December. We would have had enough time under normal conditions if there had not been disturbance in our political life, in the life of certain parties, and in the relations among parties, which also contributed to the deterioration of the working atmosphere in parliament. And one could see that while the Senate adopted both laws—one was even adopted twice—things were being dragged out in the Deputies' Chamber. Some people say that they want elections as soon as possible, but they were the ones who blocked the elections. There is a lack of agreement between words and deeds.

The conclusion of the electoral process means the conclusion of all elections, both parliamentary and presidential. Separating the elections would in fact only mean prolonging the election process and maintaining a state of uncertainty and social tension, with disturbing effects in all areas. However, what is important here is to conclude the entire process, establish a stable situation for a period of 4 years and a new legal forum that is capable of forming a government; and that government must be able to assume the necessary responsibility in approaching the complex, complicated, and difficult problems that are confronting our country's economy.

[Perva] Being aware of the parliamentary realities and the rhythm in which they operate, when do you think that we can now hold elections and do you believe that the parliamentary and presidential elections will be held together or separately?

[Iliescu] It all depends on the finalization of the parliamentary discussions. Under normal circumstances, had the split in the National Salvation Front not taken place—which, as a matter of fact brought about this dragging out of the elections and disturbed the coherent majority in the parliament—these laws could have been discussed rapidly by the two chambers and we could have held the elections and even have them finished by now. However, this split disturbed both the internal climate of this formation as well as the balance of the Deputies' Chamber.

There is no doubt that we are in the middle of a time crisis. At the moment, one cannot even think about separating the elections. Even if one would like to, it is no longer possible. Only holding elections at the same time is a realistic thing. Within the current circumstances and considering the current tension, the current difficult economic situation, and the current psychological state of Romanian society, which has been beset by social and economic difficulties, it would not be advisable to separate the parliamentary and presidential elections. Playing with prolonged and repeated elections now would mean disregarding the obvious political reality and not giving priority to the major interests of our country.

[Perva] When you receive laws from parliament, what do you think, how many days do you need to promulgate them?

[Iliescu] I have never delayed the promulgation of laws. There was only one case, the law on privatization, which, at the time stirred a lot of controversy, and I tried to clarify the content. Thus, I consulted various experts and representatives of the Economic Research Institute in order to find out the meaning of those documents and I tried very seriously to justify endorsing that law. Apart from that, I have never taken advantage of the 20 days provided for in the constitution for the promulgation of laws.

[Perva] I am going to ask you another question that I believe you have been asked hundreds of times lately. Will you run for the presidency?

[Iliescu] I still cannot answer you because things are still not clear or finalized as far as the elections are concerned, the circumstances under which they are going to be held, and the date. Therefore, it is still not the right time for me to speak about it.

[Perva] In any event, I believe that you will have the laws soon....

[Iliescu] Yes, the moment they are endorsed, I will speak about my plans.

Paper Views Chances of Presidential Candidates

AU1006120692 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 2 Jun 92 p 7

[Victor Nitelea article "The Presidential Candidates of the Third Year"]

[Text] A number of political figures have already announced their candidacy for the 1992 presidential elections, while others have preferred to have their candidacy discussed and—in accordance with the traditional methods of coquettish women—thus fan emotions and the charm of uncertainty of those interested in their candidacy. Being aware that the list of candidates for the election could harbor bigger surprises than the election returns themselves, we describe below the range and scope of the declared or presumed presidential aspirations that apply today. Without making any forecasts, we list the criteria whose fulfillment would—we believe—

considerably increase the chances of a particular candidate for Cotroceni [president's residence]. These criteria are: Balance, honesty, nonpartisanship—in its true sense of equidistance between parties, but not between ideologies—lucidity, and unemotional nature, and finally, charisma—personal charm.

Radu Campeanu: A possible candidate for the National Liberal Party [PNL]. His popularity is declining among the ranks of the right without being compensated for in the ranks of the left. At best, he might win the same number of votes as in 1990. He will probably be wise enough to ensure his role as "nonplaying captain" of the team and to promote as PNL candidate a politician with major chances such as Mr. Mircea Ionescu-Quintus.

Radu Ceontea [for the Romanian National Unity Party]: Hungarian irredentism works for him. However, the Romanian electorate's need for a firm balance reduces his chances.

Emil Constantinescu: Candidate of the Civic Alliance and of Mrs. Ana Blandiana.

Corneliu Coposu: A possible candidate of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party. However, he will probably continue to have reservations toward the temptation of power, reservations that have operated to his advantage.

Lucian Cornescu: A candidate for Cotroceni especially on behalf of the Traditional Social Democratic Party but also of the "Tara" coalition. [not further specified]

Mircea Druc: a shadow candidate for those who want the restoration of the monarchy. Here is a quotation from the Bessarabian daily representing his interests, TARA: "Mr. Mircea Druc, proposed and, we hope, elected to the office of president of Greater Romania... will be the last and decisive step before the restoration of the monarchy in Romania with His Majesty King Mihai I being brought back to the glorious throne of his forefathers." He has been proposed by the ecologists and thus suffers from the contamination rebounding from the toxic waste scandal. There are problems with his citizenship that could be overcome.

Mihai of Hohenzollern: The press has toyed with the idea that the pretender to the throne could use his ability and beneficial influence—presumed by some people—in the constitutional formula of the Presidency, which has the advantage that, should the electorate be disappointed, the election could be revoked. As in Mircea Druc's case, there are problems with his citizenship that could be overcome.

Ion Iliescu: Disadvantages: High-ranking positions in the former Romanian Communist Party; his language does not adjust easily to the new propaganda jargon, probably because—in his case—language developments follow the development of his conscience, which is fatally slow-moving (note the modification in time of his attitude toward Moscow); the intensive and extensive press campaign against him; numerous people associate the president with the failure of the Roman government. Advantages: As a nomenklatura member, he is well remembered in Iasi and Timisoara, and so forth; honesty—not even his fiercest detractors are able to accuse him of corruption, abuse, or illegal actions in the positions he held "before" or "after"; open dissidence toward totalitarianism culminating with the 10-point Proclamation of 22 December 1989 which enacts the undeniably great political achievements of the revolution—multiparty system, freedom of expression, of assembly, of conscience, of the press, and so forth; many people believe that the president has repeatedly saved the country from civil war.

Mircea Ionescu-Quintus: His candidacy would bring a happy balance into the election campaign. He has a flawless past, a thorough juridical training, a balanced record as a minister and member of parliament, and he has charisma. Disadvantages: Advanced age, although he carries it with elegant ease. If he overcomes the obstacles in his own party, he could polarize the votes of the right and center, with the exception of the extremists and the major part of the left.

Nicolae Manolescu: Like Mircea Druc, and in accordance with his own public statements, he is a shadow candidate on behalf of those who want the restoration of the monarchy.

Ion Minzatu: Candidate of the Republican Party.

Ion Ratiu: Unlike Radu Campeanu, he would probably win more votes than in 1990 if his candidacy were not blocked within his own party (primarily, it seems, by Mr. Corneliu Coposu). Two years ago, he did not win because he did not eat soybean salami; now he cannot run as a candidate because he has not eaten pearl barley groats; such is the sad fate of those who eat caviar and drink champagne! He has one chance left: To be supported by the FSN-Roman.

Petre Roman: Like Radu Campeanu, to run as a presidential candidate would mean to diminish his real power. A large part of the electorate, disconnected from political developments in the past two years, tends to vote for Iliescu and the National Salvation Front [FSN]; an Iliescu-Roman competition for the presidency would bring them back to reality and this would be to the disadvantage of the FSN in the parliamentary elections (maybe this explains Mr. Roman's efforts to separate the elections). As a very charismatic person, Mr. Roman—were he to run for presidency—would be handicapped by his countless whims and changes of direction in the past two years (his attitude toward social-democracy, the monarchy, communism, simultaneous elections, and so forth); each 180-degree turn and return to the initial trend contributed to the erosion of his political credibility, no matter how charismatic the respective leap might have been.

Theodor Stolojan: The prestige of the prime minister is based on his (so far undeniable) reputation of being a man of integrity who is immune to the temptation of power. In turn, this reputation is largely based on his pledge, when he accepted his mandate, not to run in the elections. Announcing his candidacy would decrease the prime minister's credibility, although, so far he, like Mr. Iliescu, and despite his high-ranking position, has known how to avoid a collision with airbuses on the Bucharest-Berlin route [reference to proposed business deal under Roman government]. Paradoxically, refraining from this candidacy would not exclude a new Stolojan government: the parliamentary elections could lead to such a distribution of votes between the main parties that no major alliance is possible. With each of the parties interested in a neutral prime minister rather than a hostile one, and with a well-intended president, Mr. Stolojan could be reinstalled in Victory Palace as an independent and technocrat, without breaking his promise of not running in the elections.

Nastase Holds Talks With Moldova's Tiu

AU1006123392 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Talks took place this morning at the Headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between the diplomatic chiefs of Romania and the Republic of Moldova, Messrs. Adrian Nastase and Nicolae Tiu, our reporter, Nicu Popescu, has informed us.

We will now present the statements made by Messrs. Adrian Nastase and Nicolae Tiu at the end of this talk.

[Begin recording] [Nastase] We have had a very useful round of negotiations. We exchanged views and information in connection with the political situation in Romania and the Republic of Moldova. At the same time, we continued to discuss the activity of the ministers from the four countries who participated in the four-way talks on the conflict in the Eastern part of Moldova, and we also discussed certain practical questions linked to our bilateral activity and the relations between the Romanian Foreign Ministry and the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Moldova. From this point of view, we made some headway regarding some of the projects we have in mind considering the need to effectively support the diplomatic efforts made by Chisinau.

At this point, I can say that we discussed a training program for a group of 20 young diplomats from Chisinau who are to come to Bucharest in August to attend a training course. Certainly, in this context we also discussed the activities we have in mind within the inter-ministerial committee for relations with Moldova, that is certain questions that should be well received by a broad audience in our society. We also discussed more active support in the cultural and economic areas in this period of reestablishing relations not only at government level, but especially at the level of those who effectively participate in joint ventures.

[Tiu] First, we continued consultations about a new meeting of the four ministers in Chisinau in an attempt to achieve a cease-fire and settle this conflict. Second, as Mr. Adrian Nastase said, we exchanged information about what is happening today in Moldova and Romania. Third, we talked about our bilateral relations, that is the protocol that was signed at the beginning of the quarter between our ministries, namely to proceed to concrete action in our diplomatic efforts abroad. Today, I can inform you that Mr. Pantiru left for the United Nations today. He will be our country's UN representative at ambassadorial level.

We also discussed in what countries in Europe we will be able to open missions of the Republic of Moldova to begin their activity in the not too distant future, and we held talks on the diplomatic cadres' training questions—which was also mentioned by Minister Nastase. In August, a one-month training course will be organized here for young diplomats from Chisinau.

I believe that the Chisinau meeting will take place very soon—that is, by the end of this month. [end recording]

Embargo Expected To Cost $3 Billion by Year End

AU1006123692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1200 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 10/6/1992—The embargo imposed by the Security Council on Yugoslavia was ever more surprising to Romania—notes daily TINERETUL LIBER of June 10—comparing with the situation Romania had to cope with during the Gulf War. Stressing that in the case of Yugoslavia "the geographic proximity is of a nature to render things even more complicated," the daily mentions the "cost" of the embargo. Speaking of the direct effects for 1992 (failure to fulfil economic contracts of import-export, transport, services), the losses stand at 550 million dollars. The indirect effects, resulting from the propagation in the economy of the direct effects (in transport, tourism, etc) account for 2.5 billion dollars all in all, TINERETUL LIBER writes—Romania will lose 3 billion dollars by the year's end.

There are also integrated activities on which Romania cannot enforce the embargo: the Iron Gates I and Iron Gates II hydroelectric power plants, where the breaks would imperil the transport on the Danube and the stand still of the Timisoara-Panchevo chemical combine would bring about severe ecological consequences as it would affect the safety of the installations.

The 550 million dollars lost by Romania mean: 340 million dollars—industrial losses, 100 million dollars—transport, 60 million dollars—agriculture, 45 million dollars—naval transport, 5 million dollars—tourism.

Stressing that "Romania's economy is in full recession and it makes tremendous sacrifices to get a normal status in the international community," the daily cautions that

under the circumstances "the international community must correctly appraise every country's contribution to the building up of international democratization." Or else, the paper writes, we are entitled to believe that the same blocking is put up also on our country. But, to sustain the embargo on Belgrade "would not account for a grave precedent for Romania's destiny, since it is not a federal state. The conflicts in Transylvania were artificially fuelled."

Consequently, TINERETUL LIBER states, "we will understand that the world quiet deserves every sacrifice. But how are Romania's sacrifices perceived by our bigger friends—that is not heard."

As is known, the Gulf War cost Romania 3 billion dollars, including 1.7 billion dollars worth of Iraqi debts to Romania and the break of contracts. Romania also observed the regime of sanctions against Libya, true with smaller but obvious losses. Eighty million dollars are blocked in Libya as a result of the enforcement of the latest measures taken by the international community in the anti-terrorist fight. Likewise, teams of Romanian doctors gave assistance to the wounded in Kuwait, chemists, oil experts and fire experts participated in the elimination of the consequences of that disaster. For the Romanian economy, the joining in the anti-Iraqi coalition meant a real catastrophe, and, in the political sphere, the degradation of the relations with some oil-supplying Arab countries. "In spite of the efforts made," Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, Foreign Ministry spokesman stated, "we have not been given any compensation."

Stolojan, Lithuanian Minister Discuss Ties

AU1006211192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1754 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/6/1992—In Bucharest to sign an accord on economic cooperation and a commercial protocol for 1992 between Romania and Lithuania, Albertos Simenas, minister of economy of the Republic of Lithuania, was received on Wednesday, June 10, by Romanian Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan.

According to Constantin Fota, minister of trade and tourism, who was in the attendance, the interview was an occasion to review bilateral relations and their development prospects. At the same time, a number of questions were approached related to the reform programmes in the two countries, as well as to the restructuring of the financial system.

Izetbegovic 'Will Not Negotiate' Division

LD1006142992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1253 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Madrid, June 10 (TANJUG)—The Muslim leader of the war-torn ex-Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Alija Izetbegovic, has said that he does not want to take part in talks on the division of Bosnia and that the Muslims would continue fighting.

"I will not negotiate the division of Bosnia," Izetbegovic said in an interview published by Spanish daily EL MUNDO on Wednesday [10 June].

"We will not give up. We will continue fighting and the international community has the moral obligation to help us," said the leader of the Bosnia Muslims and the president of the Bosnia Presidency in which there are no legally elected Serb representatives.

Izetbegovic expects the most help from U.S. President George Bush who, according to him, is hesitating too much.

"One should not forget that this is the election year in America and that this makes conditional many decisions," he said.

The European Community "is insufficiently organized and united to be able to adopt a joint decision and act decisively," Izetbegovic said.

Asked by newsmen whether there will be a military intervention in Bosnia, Izetbegovic said: "I do not know, but I do know that this brutal war should be halted, and President Milosevic and a group of his followers prevented from unscrupulously continuing the carnage...."

In Bosnia-Hercegovina the Muslims and Croats are fighting the Serbs. The war broke out after the European Community recognized its independence without agreement from the Bosnia Serbs.

In the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina there are no members of the Yugoslav Army, but there are some 35,000 soldiers of the Regular Army of Croatia (also a former Yugoslav Republic).

The leaderships of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia on several occasions said that they have no territorial pretensions towards Bosnia and called for a halt to the fighting in Bosnia.

Asked by journalists to comment Milosevic's distancing from the events in Bosnia, Izetbegovic said that the Serbian president "is acting in a conciliatory manner to remove responsibility from himself and to convince the United Nations to lift the sanctions against Serbia."

Despite the bloodshed and despite his refusal to take part in talks, Izetbegovic announced a fight to the end and said that it is possible for the Serbs, Croats and Muslims to live together.

Sarajevo is proof of this, he said.

Today Sarajevo is a city in ruins whose remaining population faces starvation and epidemics.

Karadzic Reaffirms Willingness To Lift Blockade

AU1006211992 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Risto Djogo report from Sarajevo]

[Text] A column of about 40 UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] vehicles passed through Pale on its way to Sarajevo this afternoon. They are due to prepare the ground for Sarajevo airport to be opened to accept humanitarian aid.

Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, has sent a letter to Butrus Ghali actually concerning Sarajevo airport. Dr. Karadzic says in the letter: We have accepted Resolution 758 of the Security Council with satisfaction and great hope. We would like to inform you of the current situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and particularly in Sarajevo.

The Serbian side is fully and unconditionally prepared to hand over the airport in Sarajevo to the command and control of UNPROFOR. However, the Muslim side has been continually attacking our forces at the airport in order to slow down the UNPROFOR action and put the airport under its own one-sided control, Radovan Karadzic's letter to Butrus Ghali says. It adds: The Serbian side has been continually announcing its readiness for a cease-fire and proclaimed several unilateral cease-fires. The Muslim side does not however accept the Serbian appeals and violates every agreed cease-fire.

The Serbian side is prepared to stop artillery fire around Sarajevo, but, encouraged by the artillery weapons that were left to it by the Yugoslav People's Army in the blocked barracks, the Muslim side has been constantly attacking the Serbian parts of the town of Sarajevo.

The Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina also today issued a political platform for the struggle for the survival of the Serbian people on the geographical area of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The platform says among other things: The fate of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina can be settled with political means on the basis of the freely-expressed will of the people and the right to self-determination. The Serbian people have decided on its own state unit of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Serbian people have clearly stated that they do not accept a unitarian Bosnia-Hercegovina under Muslim domination. The Muslim side is however refusing political talks and wants to force Serbs out of the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina with war. This is stated in one of the five points of the political platform.

At the same time, the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the other state and political leaderships have sent an appeal to the Muslim population which says that a brutal war is being conducted on the territory of our common fatherland, which has taken away thousands of innocent lives and destroyed much property. There are few peoples in the world who are so mutually dependent and intermingled. We have a common language and a common history and homeland, and we are only different in the way we address God. This should not be the reason for conflict, particularly as the Muslim people were fully affirmed in the national and cultural sense within this country for the first time. This is said in the appeal by the state and political leadership of the Serbian people of Bosnia-Hercegovina to the Muslim population.

Let us say at the end that Muslim believers were today congratulated on tomorrow's Kurban Bajram. If the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina began at Ramazan Bajram when Serbian blood was spilled in Serbian Novo Sarajevo, then Kurban Bajram should at least serve for the final political settlement because bloodshed does no one any good.

UNPROFOR Chief Departs for Sarajevo

LD1006163592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1538 GMT 10 Jun 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 10 (TANJUG)—UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Chief of Staff Brigadier General Lewis MacKenzie left on Wednesday [10 June] for Sarajevo, the capital of the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The reason for MacKenzie going to Sarajevo is the operation of deblocking Sarajevo's airport Butmir.

TANJUG has learned from UNPROFOR headquarters in Belgrade that General MacKenzie is accompanied by a team of 50 U.N. experts.

The latest U.N. Security Council resolution, adopted on June 8, extended UNPROFOR's mandate to Bosnia-Hercegovina, or specifically to Sarajevo and the Butmir Airport which the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs controls.

General MacKenzie's going to Sarajevo marks the start of the first stage of the plane. The carrying out of the plan will solely depend on the willingness of the sides in the conflict to observe the cease-fire, deputy UNPROFOR spokesman Shannon Boyd said.

In Bosnia-Hercegovina the three national communities—the Muslims, the Croats and the Serbs have been fighting for the last two months. Armed conflicts erupted after the decision of the European Community to recognize Bosnia-Hercegovina's sovereignty at the request of the Muslim-Croat coalition, but without the consent of the Serbs who represent one third of Bosnia-Hercegovina's population.

The Army of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs which controls the airport has said that it is prepared to deblock the airport, but solely for the purpose of flying in humanitarian aid.

The leaders of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs have warned that immediately after reaching an agreement on deblocking the airport the Muslim side attacked the positions held by local Serbian forces in the airport surroundings and virtually all parts of Sarajevo where the Serbs live.

The plan is that MacKenzie, as the chief liaison officer, meet on Wednesday evening or on Thursday [11 June] with the leaders of the three national communities in Bosnia-Hercegovina to discuss the carrying out of the first stage of the plan on deblocking the airport. The next step would be the inspection of the airport facilities by U.N. troops.

General MacKenzie's task after meeting the leaders of the three ethnic communities and seeing for himself that the cease-fire is observed, is to monitor, in cooperation with military observers, the withdrawal of heavy armaments from the airport surroundings.

According to the U.N. Security Council resolution, in the second stage of the plan the airport should be made ready for use and in the third stage the Blue Helmets would take positions in the security zone, meaning that an infantry battalion of about one thousand U.N. soldiers would guard the airport.

The stage four envisages the opening of airport for planes, after which negotiations are to begin on opening a safe corridor for the passage convoys with food and medical supplies.

Travel Problems Reported

AU1006210892 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Here is one more report that has just been carried by BH PRESS [Bosnia-Hercegovina News Agency]:

After General Mackenzie [UN Protection Force, UNPROFOR, Headquarters commander] arrived in Lukavica late this afternoon, a UNPROFOR convoy headed by Colonel Wilson was sent to pick him up. They did not get far. Shortly before 1900 the convoy was attacked near Mojmilo and one of its members was slightly wounded in the shooting. The tires on the UNPROFOR vehicles were punctured.

This is a simple story that is becoming increasingly dangerous, UNPROFOR spokesman Mr. (?Abdel Rezek) told BH PRESS on the occasion and added that the convoy immediately returned to its Sarajevo headquarters.

A meeting discussing the safe transfer of Gen. Mackenzie from the Lukavica Barracks to Sarajevo planned for tomorrow is under way in the UNPROFOR building. Col. Wilson is in constant contact with the general by phone and the latter is well.

'Serb Nation' Leaders Issue Appeal to Muslims

LD1106100992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0930 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 11 Jun (TANJUG)—The state and political leadership of the Serb nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina today sent an appeal to the Muslim population of the former Yugoslav republic.

"For the most part, our histories have been inseparable. We have a common state which neither you nor we can leave as neither of us has anywhere to go. Even if we wanted to, no one would have us," the appeal says.

"The time has come for the Muslim nation to stop following those who wish to push them into a jihad by avoiding negotiations with the other nation which has as much right to this common state of ours," the leaders of the Serb nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina say in their appeal to the Muslim nation of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Commander Gives 'Detailed Information' on Troops

LD1006205592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1932 GMT 10 Jun 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Podgorica, June 10 (TANJUG)—Between 36,000 and 40,000 regular Army troops of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia are fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina, a former multinational Yugoslav republic which has been the stage of fierce interethnic armed clashes for the past two months, as Security Chief of the Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Air Force Major-General [first name indistinct] Boskovic, said on Wednesday [10 June].

In an interview which will be published on Thursday [11 June] in the daily [words indistinct], capital of the Republic of Montenegro, Gen. Boskovic said that Croatia's troops in Bosnia-Hercegovina were divided into 12 brigades and that fresh troops continued coming in.

Gen. Boskovic gave detailed information about the deployment of Croatia's troops in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Bosnia-Hercegovina is populated by Serbs, who make up 31 percent of the population, Croats (17 percent), and Muslims (44 percent).

U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, himself, drew attention to the presence of Croatia's armed forces in neighbouring Bosnia-Hercegovina in one of his latest reports to the U.N. Security Council, [words indistinct] Security Council Resolution 757 of May 30.

According to the data presented by Gen. Boskovic, a systematic transfer of members of the Croatian National Guard Corps (Croatian Army) to Western Hercegovina, which borders with Croatia, has been under way since February this year.

In the meantime, stronger formations have been formed and prepared for offensive operations. They are under the command of a Croatian Army headquarters based in the coastal town of Neum in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The new headquarters is headed by Janko Bobetko, an ex-general of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA).

Gen. Boskovic recalled that the Army of Yugoslavia has completely withdrawn from Bosnia-Hercegovina and that it had had no point of contact with any of the three national armies in that republic since May 19, not even the Army of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs, whose commander is Gen. Ratko Mladic.

Gen. Boskovic said that the Army of Yugoslavia "has no influence on how the forces of Gen. Mladic are commanded and headed."

The authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—which was created by the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro after the Republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia seceded from the former Yugoslavia—have repeatedly stressed that they have no influence on the armed forces of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs.

The security chief of the Army of Yugoslavia said that at least 25,000 Bosnia-Hercegovina Muslims, including the families of a large number of officials, had taken refuge in neighbouring Serbia.

Gen. Boskovic gave as typical the example of Bosnia-Hercegovina Interior Minister Alija Delimnustafic, whose immediate family and other relations, all in all 24 of them, have found refuge in Belgrade.

Croatian Forces Take Over Serb Positions

LD1106113292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Marinko Cavar report]

[Text] A few minutes ago the Croatian flag was hoisted above the notorious chetnik stronghold of Orlovac above Mostar. By their coordinated action from all directions units of the Croatian defense council led by the Siroki Brijeg (?punitive) brigade took over this fortified chetnik stronghold which for months was used to sow death in Mostar and the neighboring municipalities of Siroki Brijeg and Citluk. In addition to Orlovac, three other strongholds have also been seized: Varda, Kobilovaca, and Cule. In the fighting so far a large number of chetniks have been captured. The number of dead is estimated to be about 100.

The Hercegovina defenders have had no casualties. As we are speaking, fighting continues for the stronghold of Hum and, further east, for the Mostar suburbs of Jesenice and Rodoc.

The chetniks, who were totally encircled, were asked to surrender honorably. After they refused, the Croatian forces launched an offensive which resulted in the liberation of the above strongholds.

Serbian Military Industry 'Operational'

AU0906142192 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 May 92 p 13

[M. Maric report: "We Are Not Moving"]

[Text] After the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army from the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the question remains on the future fate of the military industry in these regions. Slobodan Boskovic, adviser to the governments of Montenegro and the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina for special-purpose industry, and vice president of the municipal assembly of Banjaluka, claims that the military industry will not be moved. "The projects, technology, cadre, and means of production will remain where they are. And not only will this industry not move, but considerable investments will be made in the production," he says.

Significant capacities have remained on the territory of the Serbian republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and are operational. Among those are: "Rudi Cajavec" and "Kosmos" in Banjaluka, "Koran" in Pale, "Famos" and "Pretis" in Vogosca, and "Pobjeda" in Gorazde.

"All these factories remain in the unitary system, and cooperative relations, with factories in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In war conditions, on our territory we can manufacture almost all military resources, including resources for the air force and navy. The rest of the military industry will have to be adjusted to exportation," Boskovic says.

During the war operations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, significant destructive weapons have been taken out of the control of the Yugoslav People's Army and Serb territorials. A huge amount of military resources has been seized. However, according to Boskovic, only a limited amount of these is operational.

"When in comes to the development of the special-purpose industry, we have to say that the leadership of former Yugoslavia, and the army leadership, had worked against the interests of the Serbian people. The construction plans for military factories were always protected with the seal "top secret." So, as if by accident, the largest finalizing factories in the domestic military industry were built on the territory of Slovenia and Croatia. The same applied to Bosnia-Hercegovina. In Bugojno (majority Muslim population), the military industry was more developed than in the whole of Montenegro, and in Travnik (majority Croatian population), more than in the whole of Bosanska Krajina," Boskovic claims. "Besides, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, or rather, its military and economy sector, apportioned the production of all the most significant projects to factories in Croatia and Slovenia, although it was the experts in "Rudi Cajavec", for example, who made the largest contribution to the development of those projects.

Speaking of the future of the military industry, Boskovic underlines the fortunate circumstance that all the key elements for the military technology that is built into the final products of the Slovene and Croatian factories are manufactured in the regions of the Serbian Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbian Republic of Krajina, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav People's Army and Serb territorials control factories which manufacture tank engines, state-of-art electronics for the largest part of the military technology, including missile systems. The special-purpose industry has been lost in "Iskra," "TAM," "Koncar," and "Djuro Djakovic," as has been the complete manufacture of ships and submarines. However, even in the hardest war conditions, production can be secured, from ammunition to modern fighter planes, in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina," Boskovic claims.

'Strong Detonations' Continue in Sarajevo

AU1106075492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0732 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Risto Djogo report from Sarajevo]

[Text] There is no peace in Sarajevo. Strong detonations have been reverberating this morning. The Muslim forces tried to launch several attacks on Serbian positions during the night. An UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] convoy was attacked in the district of Mojmilo last night. The convoy was moving from the direction of Lukavica toward the UNPROFOR building, which is on the territory controlled by the Muslim forces. The attack on the convoy was carried out by the Muslim Green Berets from the territory of Mojmilo. The aim of the attack was to prevent the opening of the airport for humanitarian aid under the auspices of the United Nations and to seek military intervention from outside.

The opening of the airport would simply result in the Muslim side losing the main trump card for military help from abroad. The other aim of the Muslim side is to take and not to reopen the airport, which would later be used for shipping arms and mercenaries.

What is characteristic is that Sarajevo Radio, which is under censorship, reported the attack on the UNPROFOR convoy, but did not mention the attacker, which is a sufficient indication of who the attacker actually was.

After the attack on the UNPROFOR convoy, in which, according to available information, one officer was slightly wounded, the convoy returned to the Serbian barracks in Lukavica, where it enjoys complete safety.

Sarajevo Without Water, Electricity, Telephones

AU1106103092 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Aggression on Bosnia-Hercegovina is continuing and is assuming increasingly wider proportions. Artillery salvos are inflicting new suffering on the innocent population and causing greater and greater destruction. Sarajevo had been subjected to strong artillery fire throughout the night and this morning. The fire came from the positions held by the aggressor forces.

The town has been without water and electricity for several days. Since yesterday, the telephone lines between Sarajevo and other centers in the republic and outside it have been out thanks to the (?attacks from the hills) that were organized by the aggressor.

The bulk of the residents is still in cellars and shelters, because the general danger alert is still in effect. Because of the total telephone breakdown, we are having great difficulty in obtaining information from other parts of the republic.

'Paradoxes' of Izetbegovic's Policy Viewed

92BA0986C Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 92 p 10

[Article by Zehrudin Isakovic and Zlatan Cabaravdic: "The War Is Just Beginning"]

[Text] If Allah judges Alija Izetbegovic by his intentions, he will send him to denet (paradise); but if he should be mindful of the consequences, the current president of B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] will roast in dehenem (hell). The entire paradoxical nature of his policy ranges in pretty much that framework. It is quite certain, that is, that he is one of the co-offenders for what happened to the Muslims in several cities of B-H for the simple reason that he did not first prepare that people psychologically and then prepare them with weapons for defense, although with respect to weapons he could not have competed with Karadzic, who was aided gratis from the storehouses of the JA [Yugoslav Army] belonging to all the people.

To His Own Disadvantage

At the same time, how is one to criticize a man who to the end has favored a peaceful solution of the Bosnian crisis, thereby running the risk of being anathematized by his own people, because quite often he brought that peaceful solution to border areas where pride and spite outweigh reason? Walking a tightrope, then, between the desire for a peaceful outcome and the impossibility of reconciling that with a satisfactory solution (it was a question of avoiding war and still satisfying the Muslim interest), Izetbegovic did the worst—by doing nothing. He was always in a position to respond to moves, but never to make the first move, which put him in a situation of unending defensive, which left his opponents room for various maneuvers, mostly to his disadvantage.

Perhaps Alija Izetbegovic made one of the first offensive moves in his career the other day when he concluded the so-called Split agreement at the level of the political parties SDA [Democratic Action Party] and HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community].

In an interview over B-H Radio-TV, Izetbegovic expressed his amazement and surprise at the public reaction "which took that too seriously, because this is exclusively an agreement of parties which had to agree and coordinate cooperation in defense of B-H against aggression..., and as far as confederation is concerned, it was only observed that this is an acceptable idea, but this is a business of government, not of parties." Mr. Izetbegovic went on to talk about the old idea related to the confederation of several states in this region, about how everyone knows who is the aggressor against B-H (the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], and the Serbian-Montenegrin extremists gathered under the sponsorship of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS]), and who are the defenders, who include more and more Serbs of B-H. However, the basic impression is that Alija Izetbegovic spoke up to correct what could be corrected, because the public literally met this agreement armed to the teeth, just as it did that secret agreement between the HDZ and SDS in Graz.

Sympathy From Far Away

The agreement between the SDA and the HDZ irritated the public in B-H, and in Sarajevo particularly, all the more because it was signed by two loudmouthed politicians who have not even tasted the horrors of the war in B-H: Irfan Ajanovic and Dr. Milenko Brkic. The former lives in Zagreb, and the latter on the Dalmatian Riviera, and both feel "deep sympathy" with their people. Sarajevo is also irritated with the numerous other officials who "could not get back" to B-H when it was exposed to aggression (Franjo Boras, member of the Presidency, Nihad Agic, minister of culture, Mustaf Mujagic, deputy minister of information, Muhamed Cengic, deputy prime minister...). Strange as it may seem, almost all the leaders and members of the very top leadership of the opposition parties managed to get back both to their own beloved city and their own beloved people and their own beloved state.

The context of the agreement also indicates the possibility that the president of B-H has concluded that there will be no political agreement with Karadzic because of the exclusiveness of the demands, and that he has finally decided on the war option, whose objective would be the definitive collapse of Karadzic's forces. This thesis is

supported by Izetbegovic's statement that "the territories taken by force must most probably be gotten back by force." When we take into account the recent statement by Radovan Karadzic that the alternative to continuation of the discussions in Lisbon is total warfare until the definitive collapse of one of the opposing forces, it becomes clear that war in B-H is just beginning.

Sarajevo Professor Discusses 'Catastrophe'

92BA1010A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 26 May 92 p 16

[Interview with Zdravko Grebo, professor at the University of Sarajevo, by Andrew Csepel in Sarajevo; date not given: "We Will Die Together"]

[Text] The picture that can be supposed and imagined from the sounds recorded on the cassette seems surrealist. The guns thunder and there is the crack of a detonation nearby, and one learns from a passing sentence that it was after all a starry night. One hears the war on the tape, which reached Zagreb from one recent night in Sarajevo. And above all of that, as though nothing is happening, as though death is not whistling overhead and beneath the window, ignoring the threats, ignoring that there is no way out of that trap of a besieged city, ignoring the probable fear, Zdravko Grebo answers a journalist's questions. At one point, when the shells came too close, the journalist interrupted the interview—he needed time to accustom himself to this experience of being a professional on a night illuminated by outright horror and such close peril. Professor Grebo foresaw this long ago. The first question was why so many people lived in the illusion that Bosnia and Hercegovina would be an exception to the madness that is occurring with Yugoslavia's disintegration?

[Grebo] Two years ago, when the election campaign began, I felt the disaster approaching, and being the kind of person I am, semisurrealist and semianarchist, confusing people, playing the role of some kind of nonexistent political movements, I went about the city pasting up some personal posters of my own, one of which said: We will die together. I knew at the time that ugly things would happen here. However, to be quite honest, in spite of that, until two months ago I hoped with most of the world that this would nevertheless pass us by. I reckoned that there were two reasons why B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] might avoid war in the horrible form that it took in Croatia. First, I hoped that the multiple cultures, the multiple religions, and some kind of traditional tolerance and solidarity would nevertheless prevent these people from taking that fateful step when you kill someone for the first time and there is no turning back. And second, not so noble, I thought that there was some kind of balance of fear here and that no one would be ready to take that first step, because they would be afraid of having to pay for that crime with their own blood. Unfortunately, I was not right, because it has turned out that B-H simply does not have the constitution to withstand this.

The imperial projects of expanded Serbia and expanded Croatia nevertheless had to end where they have ended—in a division of Bosnia. Except that I was never certain that the third partner in all of this, the Muslim community, which ultimately is the last to become politically aware, did not perhaps long for some Muslim Bosnian state somewhere in its deep strata. Of course, that could not be harmonized and reconciled, and the government which for a year pretended some kind of coalition or partnership in Bosnia has committed a deliberate suicide. Recognizing the results of the free elections, but as a man who like others is suffering greatly at the moment, I think that I can say that it has been clear to me from the beginning that a coalition of ethnic parties—because they are based on ethnic programs—had to result in territorial division of B-H or this war. It is not a question here of good or bad intentions—the ethnic concepts simply cancel out one another, it is not possible to realize one until the other is defeated. And that, then, means a war in which there is no end to the casualties.

[Csepel] Is it true that the Muslims in Bosnia have wanted to create an Islamic state, as is often asserted?

[Grebo] I think that those stories about Islamic fundamentalism here are in large part a matter of propaganda warfare. Bosnia cannot be an Islamic state. Not only because Europe would not like to see that, but it is impossible because of its ethnic composition. The Muslims here nevertheless do not have that critical mass required for forming a national state. On the other hand, the majority outlook of the Muslims is not oriented in that direction. Lest there be a misunderstanding in this incomprehensible moment when Bosnia and Hercegovina is being destroyed, I recognize primarily an anachronistic and insane policy of Serbian nationalism, which wants to realize the idea of all Serbs in one state. I see the attempt of Tudjman's regime to make up for all the losses it experienced in Croatia and which it would make up here—I do not think that the guilt for the situation in B-H is equally divided, but in principle the mistake is the same. Alija Izetbegovic is also a political partner of Radovan Karadzic and Miljenko Brkic. Accordingly, the idea of the division of B-H was incorporated in the initial projects. Probably there is a militant wing even in the SDA [Democratic Action Party] which fantasizes about Bosnia as an Islamic republic, but I do not think this is a general commitment of that party, and above all I am quite certain that B-H is simply not possible as an Islamic republic.

[Csepel] It is customarily said that the B-H leadership has not passed the test.

[Grebo] The B-H Government has actually for a long time, not just since the beginning of March, when there was the dress rehearsal of what is happening now, simply has not existed. The Assembly is party-oriented, ethnically divided, it was never even a pale picture of some normal parliament, in the year and a half of its existence it has not passed one law, which is another curiosity on

a world scale. Bosnia and Hercegovina have not existed as a state for at least three years now, we are simply living out some temporary situation, and now three or four men in the Presidency represent the entire political structure of the republic. At the moment, we do not have any authority here, and dear God alone deserves the credit for our still being alive. It is clear that B-H de facto no longer exists. Bosanska Krajina is not definitively a part of B-H, nor is western Hercegovina, nor eastern Hercegovina, nor the Drina valley. It is not excessively ironic to say that Bosnia-Hercegovina extends at the moment from Marin Dvor to Bas-Carsija, probably the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina has some kind of powers over that stretch of a kilometer and a half.

[Csepel] Do you have an a priori negative attitude toward all the ethnic projects and parties?

[Grebo] It is finally clear to even the last of the innocents. The kind of role the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] has had in the long-prepared scenario, in collaboration with the now already former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], which over the next several days will come to an end right in Bosnia where it was formed. But the old-fashioned concept of nationalism in all three ethnic communities has a common denominator only in anticommunism. I, of course, at no point long for the regime that has collapsed; in the final analysis, I am the only man, ever since the Communist Party existed, who left the Central Committee voluntarily. I know that this was a great deception, I know that terror and the big lie were concealed behind the aegis of equality, brotherhood, and solidarity, that an insane anachronistic policy that has collapsed everywhere in the world was being mimicked. However, the boys who beat the Communists on that program proved to be utter dilettantes. Although it was evident that by definition it was not difficult to beat the Communists anywhere in Europe, their self-confidence, which probably originates in Slavic vertigo, was disastrous for their later moves. They did not realize the essence of politics and authority, and they had to pay for their defeat in the elections with the promotion of their most militant segments. That anticommunism on which they were victorious, that which contributed to their victory in an emotional sense, is at the same time the cause of their historic fallibility and the tragedy that is happening right now in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Because nationalism, as Mihnik has said, is in fact simply the last phase of communism. Accordingly, the pattern is the same, only the consequences are disastrous.

The alternative to what we are living in can only be a military dictatorship or possibly some still worse kind of nationalistic populism. The lads who won the election seem not to have been able to realize that in this time of horrible warfare a responsible politician must make a distinction between reasons of state and the political regime. They are still behaving as though no one is welcome unless they have signed a loyalty oath to the ethnic parties, regardless of their patriotic motives, and I am afraid that they will take things to the absurd point that has been recorded in history: No one will any longer represent even symbolic authority in B-H. Probably normal people in Europe and the international community have realized this, and unfortunately they are packing their bags, leaving this people gone insane and, of course, its irresponsible leaders to their own devices.

[Csepel] What will happen to Sarajevo and Bosnia after the war? Regardless of when the war ends, it seems to be evident even now that this will probably be a great collapse, even historical collapse, of this city, of its spirit. What does that mean for the future of this region?

[Grebo] A horrible human tragedy is taking place, one whose dimensions can be suggested by the assessment of the supreme commissariat for refugees that Bosnia-Hercegovina is a tragedy that can be measured only against Mozambique; even Cambodia was better. I have quite deliberately remained in Sarajevo although it is being systematically destroyed. One of the phenomena that has hovered over this city is a kind of powerful bitterness toward those who have left. Since the war began, there has been a growing horrible polarization into those who have remained in this city and those who have fled from it. There is great contempt for those Serbs, small in number to be sure, who were notified to get ready to abandon us. What angers me more than that—I am not such a strict person—but it is saddening, is that a large number of my acquaintances have also left Sarajevo. On the radio here, which for a month has been encouraging this city every day, I said that the rich segment of Sarajevo has fled, those who until yesterday were the idols of this city have fled from the music hall stage, from athletics, and I sincerely fear that the peace will be much worse than the war. War in this city is horrible, but judging by the bitterness that people have built up in the shelters, from those houses destroyed by fire, from that hunger which they have had to endure, judging by the revanchism which will flare up from them—the peace might be just as unbearable, if not worse. Bosnia no longer exists in that which survived because it was peaceful, tolerant, wise, and knew how to endure even at the price of a slap. That can no longer be restored.

[Csepel] Hercegovina will become Bosnia?

[Grebo] No, but there will be that kind of destruction of any kind of elementary civilian life just as occurred after the last war, when those who came out of the wood destroyed the civilian culture. I think that will happen once again after this war. Although in Yugoslavia, and therefore Sarajevo as well, there was hardly any bourgeois class, even that thin stratum will be destroyed by the demands of the new heroes and by the hatred built up between people. The ugliest thing that has happened in this region is that I imagine with great pain that I will never again be able to feel at home in Belgrade or Zagreb. This war has destroyed everything that was worth anything in this country and it will take a terribly long time to restore what functions more or less normally, even with a dose of a slight mental reservation that we nevertheless know that above everything there is some

authority that is not altogether what it should be. As for Sarajevo, I am afraid that that morbid experiment of destruction has nevertheless succeeded. I am, of course, infinitely gratified that the basic conception of the SDS to provoke bloodshed in Sarajevo by a flight to Pale did not work. Their aim was for the minority Croat segment and the majority Muslim segment to see the bombardment of Sarajevo and the exodus of the SDS to Pale as the signal to begin butchering Serbs in Sarajevo. But that did not happen; the people were not taken in by that trick and deception. But people were overtaken by some kind of anxiety; they no longer trust one another. The fact that in some way I already acknowledge that Grbavica is not a part of this city, that some kind of White Eagles are on Vrbanja, which is the same as having them sitting under my window, because that is only 200 meters from here, indicate that irreparable mistakes have been made without any justification whatsoever. I am afraid that our children will regret the crimes that have occurred here. I am afraid that Sarajevo is being destroyed as the last example that some kind of cohabitation is nevertheless possible. I know that the Communists use this for some kind of propaganda purposes, for brotherhood and unity, the four Sarajevo temples... but I cannot escape the impression that in Sarajevo the last reminder is being destroyed from which tomorrow someone might possibly remember that something different from primitive and naked nationalism is possible.

Appeals From Tuzla on Threat to Southern Europe

92BA1021A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30-31 May 92 p 11

[Article by Mladen Stajic: "Shells Falling Near an Environmental Bomb"]

[Text] Tuzla—The city of Tuzla is trembling with fear, but there are many people in this part of Europe who are quaking with it. Appeals from eminent experts and institutions have not helped, nor did anything come of the appeal of the government of Serbia addressed to the belligerents to avoid any skirmishes of any kind in the vicinity of the HAK (choralkal complex) in Tuzla. Shells are continuing to fall on this "chemical" city. Every night explosions are heard in several places. Two shells have fallen in the very heart of the city, near the fire station. Several shells have fallen in the area of the Upper City. As a matter of fact, it is just a matter of time before one of the projectiles "strays" and hits a "terrible place"—the Tuzla environmental bomb. The consequences, say the experts, would be disastrous and would not be confined to this city. Nor to the space of Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H], but would extend to the entire region of southern Europe.

The director of the HAK in Tuzla, Adem Tucakovic, has commented on the full extent of the danger threatening more than Tuzla, which has been written about quite a bit lately, but about which little is known as yet:

"We have already said what we had to say. Everything is known. However, war has come even here. In a war, each side behaves according to what is 'best' for it. The belligerents know what the chemical industry in Tuzla means for the environment. It is a question of reason," director Adem Tucakovic said, expressing disbelief that yet another article will have any better effect.

The Damage Is Suffered by All

Director Adem Tucakovic adds in this connection—that it would be more effective if the public in Serbia also knew the damage that the war in B-H is indirectly inflicting on the economy of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

"Our factories in Tuzla are standing idle because transportation has stopped. Actually, we have extremely large requests from Serbia for delivery of our products. All of 50 percent of our total output has been purchased by customers in Serbia. I am referring to large economic systems such as 'Matos,' the Kikinda Metal Manufacturing Combine, 'Servo Mihalj' in Zrenjanin, 'Prva Iskra' in Baric, the Obrenovac Thermal Electric Power Plant, 'Simpo' in Vranje... and other firms, just as much as we here are suffering the consequences of this horrible war. After all, to give an example, we buy $1 million worth of goods from Pancevo every month, and we have been delivering our products worth about 3,000 German marks," Adem Tucakovic said.

The horror of the war, however, is most terrible because, above all, men, women, and children are being killed. But the sufferings, God help us, could hit Tuzla and a broad area from a lack of restraint and the inhuman instincts and ideas of insane warriors, and there are some already, if they turned their sights even on the HAK, and reasonable people are seized with fear, horror, and panic at the very thought of it....

The reason is more than clear. Factories whose products are exceedingly dangerous are concentrated here in Tuzla.

We produce chlorine, propylene, toluene, phosgene, dinitrotoluol, toluoldisocyanate, ethylene oxide, sodium chlorate....

Experts in the Tuzla institutes say that an explosion and fire would destroy everything within a radius of 500 meters! But the greatest danger for the human organism, they say here, would come from the leakage of chlorine into the air. The people of Tuzla have already experienced this misfortune, when in June 1980 about two tons leaked into the atmosphere when it was being transferred because of a breakdown in the installation. All of Tuzla was running. People from the vicinity of the chemical factory fled pell-mell. There was an unprecedented panic, but fortunately there were no casualties, since "only" two tons leaked that time, but the HAK stores between 200 and 600, or even as much as 1,000, tons of chlorine, that dangerous gas that has been used as a chemical weapon in warfare.

Poisoning the Air and Water

Some experts say that uncontrolled leakage of chlorine into the air in large quantities (it is twice as heavy as air, and the wind easily moves it) could have a lethal effect even at a distance of 200 km, all the way to Belgrade!

In Tuzla, several other poisons from the chemical factories here are potential environmental bombs with shells falling in their vicinity. That is, even the well-known chemical weapons are produced here. However, that is only a part of the danger that lies in the Tuzla chemical industry. Chemicals from the Coke and Chemical Combine's plant are also within reach of Tuzla and dangers for plants and animals.

Recently, experts from Geoinzenjering in Belgrade conducted tests for the local authorities in Gracanica, near Doboj, and established that the fields along the Spreca River are saturated with many poisons, even in excess of tenfold the permissible amounts. And the war is getting closer and closer to Lukavac as well.

Just one hit on one of the environmentally critical places at the Boris Kidric Combine, they say at the enterprise, could also cause an environmental disaster of immeasurable proportions if poisons from the factories here, such as phenol, benzene, and certain others, should reach the Spreca. Via the Spreca the poisons would quickly and unrestrainably (since these chemical substances do not break down) cross the Bosna and the Sava and bring the threat closer to the animal world even in the Danube region.

That is why in spite of the lack of belief in appeals, people still hope that reason will prevail. That is why it is the 11th hour to raise voices against the unreasonable and unrestrained warriors who would like to hold the Tuzla and Lukavac chemical industry in their own hands. On behalf of life, life which must win out even in warfare!

Greguric Cited on Dimilitarizing Knin, Obrovac

LD1106132592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1201 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Zagreb, 11 Jun (TANJUG)—Both Knin and Obrovac, as well as other places in Croatia like eastern Slavonia, will be demilitarized according to the Vance plan, Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric has said in an interview with the "GLOBUS" weekly of Zagreb.

"The Serbian Army and chetniks must withdraw from these areas while the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia grants the district of Knin adequate constitutional status. I certainly believe that most citizens in Knin and its environs want peace and cooperation and see their lives and development in Croatia. There is no other alternative," Greguric cautioned.

Asked why Croatia is not launching a military offensive in areas not covered by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], the Croatian prime minister said, among other things: "The Vance plan clearly states that all the municipalities which are not controlled by blue helmets must be liberated from the former Yugoslav Army and chetnik formations and be placed under the control of Croatian authorities immediately after the withdrawal. The areas of Vis and Lastovo were abandoned without warfare while the rest of the territories must be liberated by starting combat operations," Greguric said, adding: "What has not been liberated so far will soon be."

Commenting on the fact that a large number of refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina do not at all want to leave Croatian territory, Prime Minister Greguric said that "Croatia cannot and will not receive everyone who wants to stay" and that citizens from Bosnia-Hercegovina would have to return.

"Our police have been ordered to immediately turn back all men between 18 and 60 to Bosnia-Hercegovina. This has, for example, been done in Posavina," Greguric said.

Party Believes Military Intervention Possible

AU1006133192 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 28 May 92 p 4

[Report by D. Djuretek: "Ready For Elections"]

[Text] Zagreb—"In Croatia's admission into the UN I see opportunities, possibilities, but also obligations for Croatia," Dr. Savka Dabcevic-Kucar, president of the Croatian National Party [HNS], said at yesterday's news conference. The main subject of the conference was the political situation in Croatia.

The president of the HNS commented on some announcements of elections, saying that it was up to the president of the Republic of Croatia to decide whether the time and conditions were right for elections. She stressed that the HNS was ready for elections, and would try and ensure that they were carried out fairly. The party would also support the opening of Croatian television to all parties, and party control of the polling stations, both domestically and abroad. It appeared, she said, that president Tudjman had decided to call the elections to capitalize on Croatia's admission into the UN. Asked whether she would run for election as president of the Republic, she said that the HNS would issue a public statement once elections were officially called, and Kresimir Dzeba said that "there was a general feeling in the party that Dr. Savka Dabcevic-Kucar should run for election."

Asked how much the HNS had done on collecting votes abroad, the president of the HNS said that the party had done little, but it had strong affiliation parties in Canada, Germany, and Switzerland. The HNS, according to her, was interested in sympathizers and not only in members, and would therefore attract votes abroad.

The leadership of the HNS spoke of "the recent persecution of journalists," as they put it. Kresimir Dzeba stressed that "the mass persecution of journalists was conducted before the elections in order to intimidate them into auto-censure." He said that not only were journalists persecuted, but opposition parties, too. It was significant, Dzeba said, that the priority of the present authorities was the strengthening of power, which indicated that "a legal state did not live here," and that "we were heading full speed into neo-bolshevism."

As for the Split agreement, and the idea of a confederation, the leaders of the party said that they had a positive attitude towards it, but it was not for individual parties, but states to decide. The HNS supported the teachers' strike, as it was "a voice against misery and their humiliating position," and "the economic and social status of education employees was catastrophic."

Asked to comment on the government of continuity, Dr. Savka Dabcevic-Kucar said that the HNS's attitude towards the government of democratic unity was well-known, and that the government could no longer call itself so, since it now consisted only of representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community, the Social Democrat Party, the Socialists, and outside-party individuals, selected by the president himself. She turned her attention to the possibility of military intervention by the west against Serbia, saying it could be defensive military help to Bosnia-Hercegovina in the form of an air blockade. The HNS proposed that the aggressor's army should be placed under international control. Kresimir Dzeba did not think military intervention was impossible, and said that everything regarding that question was going according to plan.

News Conference on HOS Actions in Bosnia

LD1006145392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] At a news conference today, the Croatian Party of Rights [HSP] accused Croatian President Dr. Franjo

Tudjman of presenting untrue facts regarding the participation of the HOS [armed wing of the party] in the war on the territory of Herceg-Bosnia. The HSP said that President Izetbegovic himself praised the HOS.

It is true, Dobroslav Paraga said, that the HOS units placed themselves under the joint command of the Territorial Defense of that republic and scored remarkable results in the fighting. He also said that a verbal attack by Stipe Mesic on an HSP official only contributed to the increase in party membership.

At the news conference, Davorin Perinovic spoke about great international political involvement of the HSP, while Mile Dedakovic-Jastreb informed the public about his visit to the Herceg-Bosnia battlefield. He said that the last chetnik will leave in two or three months at the latest.

Portuguese Foreign Minister Received by Tudjman

LD1106124392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, today received Joao de Deus Pinheiro, Portuguese foreign minister and president of the EC Council of Ministers. Pinheiro was accompanied by Portuguese Ambassador Joao Guerra Salgueiro. They discussed the activities of the EC observer mission in Croatia and the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. President Tudjman congratulated Minister Pinheiro on today's Portuguese national holiday, says a statement from the president's office.

Says Bosnian Borders Unalterable

LD1106012992 Lisbon RTP-1 Television Network in Portuguese 0002 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Excerpts] In Croatia, Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro has categorically stated that the borders of Bosnia-Hercegovina will not be changed. Correspondent Henrique Vasconcelos covered this visit and was also in the war zones in Croatia. Here is his report: [passage omitted]

[Vasconcelos] The Portuguese foreign minister was in Zagreb for a few hours. This morning he met President Tudjman of Croatia at his official residence.

[Begin Pinheiro recording] My essential goal at today's talks was to pass on a few messages, including the message that it is impossible for Bosnia-Hercegovina to become a state different from what it is now, which is a state with different borders or different components; Secondly, that the canton version generally accepted in principle is the only acceptable political solution, and therefore any notions of a Muslim state, or of an integration of part of Bosnia-Hercegovina in Serbia or in Croatia, are totally unrealistic and will never be accepted. [end recording]

Warns on Sharing Blame

LD1106125892 Lisbon RDP Comercial Radio Network in Portuguese 2100 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] In the former Yugoslavia, Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro, current president of the EC Council of Ministers, met with the Croatian authorities and told them that the war must have a political resolution because everyone is to blame.

[Begin Pinheiro recording] Everyone is to blame. Some are more to blame than others, but Croatia is far from blameless, both the Croatian state and the Croatian nation of Bosnia. This is one of the messages that I have conveyed: That it is unacceptable that anyone should think that Serbia alone should bear the sanctions and the punishment and that the rest are all saintly and angelic people. That is not so for either the Muslims or the Croatians.

If they think that this is now a free for all [preceding three words in English], and that they have carte blanche to do as they see fit, they are quite mistaken, for that is not the mood in the EC. [end recording]

The Portuguese minister also said that the recognition of Macedonia should take place during the Portuguese presidency of the EC [before the end of the month], for failure to do so would be a sign that the problem cannot be resolved peacefully. Deus Pinheiro has a proposal for a new name for Macedonia that would not cause offense to Greece, but declined to specify.

Delegation To Attend UN Environment Conference

LD1006154192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] A Croatian delegation headed by Prime Minister Franjo Greguric left for Rio de Janeiro today to take part in the UN Conference on Environment and Development. Greguric stated before his departure that he would speak at the conference about the situation in Croatia, what had happened during the war, and how much damage and evil was inflicted on the people and the environment. I think it would be good to warn the world at the international meeting of a new form of disruption of ecological balance. Commenting on his visit to Argentina, he said it is scheduled to be a one-day visit when he will have talks about economic cooperation and meet with the Croatian diaspora.

Doubts About UNPROFOR Mission Expressed

AU1106082692 Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 92 pp 18-19

[Commentary by Vlado Rajic: "UNPROFOR—Extras in Domestic Drama?"]

[Text] The relationship between Croatia and the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] started on 27

November 1991. Passing Resolution 721, the UN announced the possibility of sending peacekeeping forces to the territory of Croatia. Almost three months later, with Resolution 743, the blue helmets' mission became a reality. In the meantime, Vance's plan became the focus of party conflicts. What is written in the plan? The deputy prime minister, Dr. Mate Granic, at the beginning of December clearly explained in VJESNIK exactly what the strategy of the deployment of peacekeeping forces would be, with details that proved to be correct even some months later. The peacekeeping forces would first secure traffic (land and air), then they would gradually take control of certain sectors, accompanied by the EC monitors, the Red Cross, the High Commission for Refugees, and finally by the refugees themselves. Once at their destination, they would be met by a representative of the Croatian Government (in legal terms), and a representative for refugees (in practical terms). The ultimate task would be to implement the decision of the international community: inviolability of the borders of former Yugoslav republics, and the formation of the police force, and other bodies of state authority on the proportional principle, based on the results of the 1981 census.

So much from Granic, and it is apparently clear enough. However, to judge from the ensuing discussions on the UNPROFOR, it was neither enough, nor clear. To start with, from all political sides accusations started raining down on president Tudjman and the government that in Vance's plan they agreed that the refugees would come under the authority of their former enemies, that is, the Serbs. I should repeat that all this was taking place before a single UNPROFOR member crossed the Croatian border. Two more months had to pass before that happened. In retrospect, the question seems justified: How many more months should pass with the UN peacekeepers in the neighborhood before the necessary confidence is established between the peacekeeping forces and the local population?

Act One: Parliament

The clash between the accepted rules of the game, according to which the UNPROFOR arrived in Croatia, and the public perception of the role of the blue helmets was demonstrated at the March session of the Parliament. The typical parliamentary debate clarified everything that was later to be manifested in other locations of Croatian political life.

The first one to speak was Dr. Milan Ramljak, head of the state committee for the UNPROFOR, as he put things in their place, according to the accepted and already mentioned rules of the game. First, the securing of Croatian borders, then the return of the refugees, followed by the demilitarization and pulling out of the army of occupation, then the legal order on the UNPA and local authority setting the limits on the UN authority, and the cost of the whole peacekeeping operation. The next six points contained the contents of future talks with the representatives of the UNPROFOR, mainly with similar subtitles.

Then the parliamentary debate started. Goran Biljan insisted that the Parliament received a contract or agreement on the arrival of the peacekeeping forces and opened it to discussion. That was the only way to prevent conditions constantly being set for Croatia, which it would then have to meet. Particularly since Croatia had to support not only a large number of the hungry, but also these peacekeeping forces. Finally, he required that the Parliament should be the body to decide how far the Croatian negotiators could go in making concessions in talks with international groups.

Marko Vlasic said that the Croatian leadership and government should insist on an international solution for establishing full sovereignty on the whole territory of Croatia, regardless of the arrival of the peacekeeping forces. Ivan Kovac said that only a complete military victory (without the UNPROFOR involvement) is a guarantee for the safe return of the refugees. Dr. Sime Djodan was embittered by the fact that one-fourth of the Croatian territory would be under the command of a general who takes it as his right to decide what the legal order is to be in that region. Djodan said clearly: "I hope that in the end it will be the Croat people who will, with their own forces, kick the enemy out."

These excerpts from the parliamentary debate cannot, of course, conjure up the atmosphere that led Dr. Ramljak to step to the rostrum again and try to amortize the effect of the representatives' resentful perception of the UNPROFOR and Croatian policies that enabled their future entry onto the territory of Croatia.

Act Two: Opposition

Is that supposed to be surprising? No! On 29 November 1991, the opposition coordination made it perfectly clear that it wanted the Parliament and the Croatian Government to deliver a demand to the peace conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague, the EC Ministers' Council, and the UN Security Council, for guarantees that with the arrival of the peacekeeping forces, the Yugoslav Army would pull out of the whole territory of the Republic of Croatia and that other enemy formations would be disarmed. The Croatian Party of Rights did not participate in that petition, in the belief that no appeals to the international community had any effect and that, in any case, such a demand would jeopardize their party program—Croatia to Drina River.

Almost five months later Drazen Budisa declared: "Unfortunately, according to the provisions of the UN peacekeeping operation in Croatia, even peace will be hard in Slavonia. Certain parts of Slavonia (and the whole of Baranja) will be outside the jurisdiction of Croatian authorities, and, in compliance with the same provisions, the refugees are to return under the authority of those who evicted them in the first place." The leader

of the Croatian Social Liberal Party continues the "parliamentary" debate. Several days later, Dr. Marko Veselica, leader of the Croatian Democratic Party, took part in the debate: "We have to accept the presence of Europe and the world, but not at the cost of the integrity of our homeland, including the intrinsic belonging of Slavonija and Baranja to Croatia."

The skepticism about the correctness of the government's decisions regarding the UNPROFOR continues. The metastasis of that hackneyed attitude, which manipulates the fate of the refugees for political purposes, increases the number of those skeptical about the whole peacekeeping operation.

Act Three: Army

The Croatian Army has recently abandoned the support it used to give to the news reported in Croatian media. The principle of "violation of the cease-fire to which the Croatian forces did not respond" has been replaced by news of victories. Even in the past, the media used to leak a few statements by Croatian defenders, saying that they were equipped, willing, and able to defeat the aggressor, but they respected the state order for exercising restraint. The events on the Dubrovnik battlefield, for example, were supposed to serve as proof that this was indeed so. Military victories are secured in places where there are no obligations toward the UNPROFOR and instead only the monitors and the Red Cross are stationed.

The feeling that the Croatian forces alone were capable of pushing back the aggressor has been strengthening all along, regardless of the UNPROFOR presence. However, that feeling had to be taken on two levels: the official command level, and the ordinary soldier one—the troops on the front line.

Only Sveto Letica, commander of the Croatian Navy, was explicit, claiming during celebrations in the Split naval port 'Lora' that "the Navy is capable of defending the Croatian coast." Unlike him, Antun Tus, supreme chief of the Army, was more cautious: "If the peacekeeping mission does not succeed, we are ready to liberate every part of Croatia by force." In other words, the UNPROFOR gets its chance, but....

Martin Spegelj is no less cautious. Tus' "if" can be read in his every statement.

Branimir Glavas, who was recently reappointed from military to administrative chief of Slavonija, persistently repeats his earlier statement that everything that the UNPROFOR has done so far in Sector E (eastern Slavonija) confirms how correct he is in saying that only military defeat of the enemy can ensure the desired conditions in that part of Croatia.

Military victories of the last few days have strengthened the belief that the UNPROFOR is too expensive and too ineffective to help Croatia since its own forces are enough to totally defeat the Serbian Army forces.

Act Four: UNPROFOR

Inheriting the impression left by the EC monitors, colloquially called "ice-cream men", the peacekeepers could not avoid being stereotyped, too. They are considered extras in the domestic drama. The fact that things are not this way is proved not only by the deaths of the men in blue and white, but also by the many reports, containing detailed facts, that the international factor transmits worldwide, although, unfortunately, without much echo in the Croatian public. It has not been registered by the public that the military and civilian representatives of the UN have visited offices of local newspapers, that they have discovered in direct talks what the feelings about them and their missions are, and that they have carefully noted the basic tone of the criticism. The avalanche of criticism followed the appearance of a group of Croatian exiles from Tenja, after which the UNPROFOR was criticized for playing ball with the chetniks. A debate was propelled by the question: why has the Russian part of the UNPROFOR contingent been deployed in the sensitive Vukovar area?

However, the statements coming from Nambiar, Thornberry, and other chiefs were more than balanced. Still, as the UNPROFOR activities advance, the balanced statements turn into very precise criticisms. Recollections of the accepted rules of the game appear as a refrain.

The local press warns that the peacekeepers are only now ready to remove some obstacles caused by skepticism, by establishing the kind of relations with the Croatian side as was envisaged by Vance's plan.

Prologue: Now What?

Obviously, the aforementioned statements cannot all be reconciled. Obviously, resentment toward the UNPROFOR is not a common denominator of the Croatian attitude toward international involvement in the solution to the domestic war crisis. Even if the triumphant spirit has been aroused by recent victories on the front, it most certainly does not affect the entire Croatian strategy, which has been proved peaceful in the case of UNPROFOR—even when Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Zdravko Tomac says publicly that "if there is no other way, we have to accept the continuation of the war." However, the problem is that there is a two-fold vision of the end of the war: First, as a complete military defeat of Serbia, and second, as its political collapse. The former, taking into account the number of victims in Croatia, is an understandable reaction. The latter, however, is the logical perception of the end of the aggression in its very source, in Belgrade, or, to be more precise, at the doorstep of Milosevic's bunker. Both belong to the internal characteristics of these regions and are of no interest to the world, particularly in that part of it that seems confused by the fact that it is asked to declare its views on something (the borders, for example), which is built into the logic of the UNPROFOR intervention.

In his latest statements, Dr. Ramljak, with the balance that is unique to him, begins every discussion with the

peacekeepers with the remark about mutual distrust, which, as he says, has been improved after the debate. Is that the key to the successful completion to the UNPROFOR mission?

President Tudjman Appoints New Ministers

LD1006194192 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Franjo Tudjman, President of the Republic of Croatia has appointed the ministers of justice and administration and of foreign affairs.

Ivan Milas was appointed minister of justice and administration, and Dr. Zdenko Skrabalo is the new minister of foreign affairs.

Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina Confederation Urged

92BA1010B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 26 May 92 pp 14-15

[Article by Dr. Ante Kovacevic: "To Whom Do the Muslims Belong?"]

[Text] What are the Muslims and to whom do they belong? Vuk Draskovic says that 97 percent of them are Serbs and think that they "all came from his Grandfather Ilija." Others say that the Muslims are Croats. Still others, with more feel for reality, say that the Muslims are South Slavs of Islamic civilization on the territory of Bosnia and Hercegovina who regardless of their ethnogenesis have in the last few centuries formed an independent entity.

We Croats have for an entire 1,000 years sworn that we are the spokesmen, defenders, and members of Western civilization and Christianity. Nevertheless, it has to be acknowledged that the Croats, since they came to these parts, by force of history, and also the interests of the Croatian Lebensraum, have always been on the boundary between East and West.

Like it or not, we have always been in contact with the topic of Byzantium. We have been where the Far East, the Middle East, and the Near East came together, but also on the border with Western civilization and even under its influence. For more than 200 years now, the Croat people has tried to understand without any conflict, to reconcile and absorb what remained after Ottoman rule. The Muslims with a big M are a fact which must be taken into account in discussions about history, civilization, culture, literature, and language.

In those regions of Bosnia where Croats are the only inhabitants and have not come into contact with Muslims, there is an inherited mistake to the effect that the Muslims are Croats. But whatever their origin or language, today they are only what they want to be. Muslims.

This has to be cleared up, although I congratulate those Muslims who say of themselves that they are Croats of Islamic faith. Muslims, then, should not be Croaticized by anyone, nor can they be. What amazes us is that the Muslims were utterly unprepared for this war and for the Serbian expansionists, who with their genocidal plans, at least 100 years old ("either under the cross or under the knife"), have moved against them as well. History has repeated itself in Foca, and the same snake from the same hole has bitten the Muslim brothers twice.

For 200 years, the Serbian expansionists deceived Europe with their chivalrous fight against everything un-Christian, in particular against the Ottoman administration and Islamic faith, world outlook, and philosophy. It is in that sense that they turned the defeat at Kosovo into a victory that they sold to the French and other creators of the two Yugoslavias (Versailles and Yalta) as the great sacrifice of the small Serbian people for the salvation of the Christian community. Leave aside that when the Ottomans came, they became the greatest servants. The fact remains that among the Balkan peoples the Serbian expansionists have been the most rabid enemies of Muslims and Islam. They were that in the era of the Pec Patriarchate up until 1945, and they were also that during the Chetnik-communist tandem, which persists even today.

In the light of the political pragma, one can understand the position of the Muslim politicians who were capable of doing everything to preserve the peace. Peace is the least expensive thing, just as war is the most expensive, but Croats and Muslims will remain in Bosnia only one alongside the other. We must stretch out hands to one another and commit ourselves to democratic, peaceful, but also armed, aid, and appeal to the entire world to recognize our separate voices which are in alliance against the common enemy.

Muslims must be left the right to be what they want to be. This needs to be said because of those who say that the very earliest ancestors of the Muslims were Croats, and therefore they are Croats, or ought to be Croats and only Croats. The Muslims will be what is in their interest to be.

If Croatia becomes strong and regains what belongs to it, there will be Muslims who will say that they are Croats. For that matter, the oriental legacy is an integral part of Croatian history and also of its contemporary culture.

Croats and Muslims have done everything for peace. Thousands of Muslims, desiring peace and not preparing for war, stretched out their neck for the Chetnik dagger. We Croats suspected this evil, we prepared for it, we clenched our fist and our teeth and offered resistance.

Croatia has fulfilled all the requests that the EC has made of the young Croatian Republic. But the international community has been more concerned about protecting minorities than the biological survival of the Croat and Muslim peoples, but we have swallowed even that in the interest of peace. By contrast with the

occupying Serbo-communist and Chetnik forces which have not wanted discussion, agreement, and a peaceful solution. In spite of the tactical maneuvering of the leading Croat and Muslim politicians, the Chetnik plan to transform Tito's Yugoslavia into Serboslavia was not frustrated in time.

There remained our Muslim and Croat concord, the common interests that bind us together, and a clear conscience before Europe and the world. The alliance of Croats and Muslims in defense is the best guarantee of success in the struggle for survival.

We did not choose this war, but rather our enemy imposed it on us. I welcome the Split agreement and understanding between us which must not be jeopardized by all the fatal mistakes of Croat and Muslim policy up to this point, and there have been mistakes on both sides.

The alliance of Croats and Muslims is a natural one. We have a common past, and now we have vital interests in common, and we also have a common enemy. This agreement has put the essential above the inessential, and the essential is that if the Muslims and Croats come to the defense of what is theirs, they will find the modus agendi et coexistendi.

Our policy will not be one of conquest, but a policy in defense of what is ours. Our policy is not against the Serbian people, but it is against the insanity of the policy of the Serbian expansionist cutthroats. For that matter, if the Serbs and Montenegrins have a right to agreements, why should not the Croats and Muslims as well? If the world accepts a confederation of Serbia and Montenegro, why would it not accept in its "nobility" and "humane aspirations" a confederation of Croatia and Herceg-Bosnia as well?

If some have that right, why would that right be denied others?

Regardless of all the relevant facts about Bosnia and Hercegovina, historical and current, only one thing is certain: Bosnia cannot do without Croatia and there is no Croatia without Bosnia! And only a political and military alliance of Croats and Muslims will halt the Serbian expansionist invasion on the Drina which is the natural border between worlds. Between the oriental world and the Western world.

The Croats and Muslims will always recognize Serbia to the Drina in its traditional limits.

While the Yugoslav evil empire is disintegrating, and new states arise on the ruins of Yugoslavia, the strategy of Serbian expansionism is trying to create a Serbian state on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H] through crime, genocide, and forgeries and in this way to destroy the integrity of Bosnia and Croatia.

A bloody genocidal war is being waged in Bosnia and Hercegovina and has been particularly manifested in the slaughter of Muslims. The crimes against the Muslims and Croats are forcing those peoples this very day, in the interest of survival and preservation of their particularity and difference, to create a political and military alliance against the policy of conquest of Serbian expansionism.

Only in this way can the Muslims and Croats survive and maintain the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina and its legal sovereignty as a state.

Creation of a confederation between B-H and Croatia is an expression of the natural and elementary needs of those two peoples in conflict with the Serbian expansionist policy of destroying the Croats and Muslims.

The innocent blood being shed under the Chetnik knife and the destruction of Muslim and Catholic shrines, and also the slaughter of Muslims during the Bairam festival, are the greatest motives and factors in the creation of that alliance, without which there is no independent and integral Bosnia and Hercegovina, nor is there an independent and stable Croatian state. It is at the same time in the interest of Europe, which is being created as a community of free peoples and states.

Cicak Gives Interview on Croat-Serb Relations

92BA1001B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 92 p 14

[Interview with Ivan Zvonimir Cicak by Vesna Pavlekovic; place and date not given: "A Country in Which You Can Reach Out and Touch the Hatred"]

[Text] Some will say that he is a traitor. Others that he personifies the conscience of the Croatian people. There simply is no one in the middle, because Ivan Zvonimir Cicak's peculiar personality leaves no one indifferent.

At the beginning of this interview for BORBA, we reminded him of the statement by a young intellectual who referred to him as the "Croat-meter." Cicak gave us this response:

"Over the last 25 years, I have become accustomed to various epithets. This does not bother me very much, because my desire has always been the same: In a certain way, I do not consent to things as they are. But I simply cannot do otherwise."

Vukovar Was Intentionally Sacrificed

[Pavlekovic] Over the last year, we have been witnesses to the disintegration of the world we lived in up to now. You have been one of the rare people who foresaw that disintegration and foresaw it in precisely this bloody manner.

[Cicak] That disintegration is not over yet. It will go on for some time. Both bloody and dramatic. That is why it is the duty of Croatian intellectuals in Croatia, Serbian intellectuals in Serbia, Macedonian intellectuals in Macedonia... to point up the irregularities, primarily

within one's own body politic, but also to take a principled stance toward others. I have the impression that collective insanity has seized the region of the former Yugoslavia.

[Pavlekovic] Did such a high price have to be paid for the independence of the new states?

[Cicak] That is one of the dilemmas I face. The key reason why I have distanced myself from politics is precisely that that kind of politics disappointed me terribly. I am not a man ready to enter politics in order to sacrifice others on behalf of my position. Today, it is clear even to a child that Vukovar was intentionally sacrificed and that the Serbs took that bait offered by Tudjman like "flies on dung." Dubrovnik, Vukovar, and Banski Dvori are the coin in which Croatia's recognition was paid for. You really have to be someone like Tudjman or Manolic, whose path in life has taken them climbing over "corpses" to conduct politics in this manner.

My personal assessment is that there should not have been so many casualties, that there did exist an interdependent tie between the political models in Croatia and Serbia. Except, of course, that Serbia's position was compromised by the fact that it is objectively the aggressor and has been concealing its objectives behind the slogan "All Serbs in One State." Serbia will not be able to maintain such a powerful army and withstand the ethnic pressures that will arise within its space. I am referring here primarily to the Albanian, Hungarian, and Croatian questions and all the new questions that will inevitably intrude. What is more, Serbia also has the unresolved problem of the military complex and the unresolved attitude toward the former communist systems. I therefore think that Serbia has dramatic moments ahead, and it is my forecast that after all is said and done it will end in an internal civil war. However, Croatia is not far from that either, because Tudjman is not going to let power out of his hands "without bloodshed."

[Pavlekovic] How do you explain the Croatian parliament voting in favor of everything presented to it?

[Cicak] Croatia has no parliament. It only has a greater or lesser collective Tudjman. The lesser collective Tudjman is the government, and the greater one is the Assembly. Of course, Croatia does not have a true European opposition either. All the criticism coming from the ranks of the opposition is pragmatically dependent upon the momentary interests of individuals and certain small groups, not differing views of Croatia's political position. Political models and political groupings have not yet been shaped in Croatia. The situation is identical in Serbia. What is the main criticism within the Serbian political lobby addressed to Milosevic? That he has not been successful or sufficiently effective in establishing an expanded Serbia. No one in the Serbian opposition has given up the idea of creating an expanded Serbia. It still does not have the force or a figure who will cut the knot and say—Serbia and Montenegro are two states and two peoples. I know that that truth pains the Serbs today. It pains them as the Croats are pained by the fact that Bosnia is an independent state, not a part of an expanded Croatia. The American establishment of the Bosnian state is actually a definitive shattering of the dream of an expanded Serbia and an expanded Croatia.

The Defensive Reflex of the Serbs

Only that political force in Serbia that will say that Vukovar and Ilok are Croatian towns and we must help to erase the shame that has fallen on Serbia in this war by helping Croatia to rebuild those towns as soon as possible—has a European future.

[Pavlekovic] After the so-called log revolution broke out in Croatia, you made a maximum commitment to building back the bridges destroyed between Croats and Serbs.

[Cicak] The Serbs in Croatia should be understood from the standpoint that the former regime assured them for 45 years that all Croats are Ustashi who will slaughter them.... That brainwashing has also been done by many Croats, including Manolic and Tudjman, who were part of the government at that time. The defensive reflex of the Serbs was triggered. At the same time, Serbia has been systematically assuring them that the Serbian state will extend to Karlobag and that they will remain in power.

The problem of the Serbs in Croatia is very pragmatic and simple. Thanks to Bakaric, Manolic, Tudjman, and people like them, the urban Serbs in Croatia had a privileged position and were established in the communist regime. With the departure of that regime, they lost their privileged position as Communists, and so in the elections they had to find someone to blame for their own sins, and they found it in the Serbs. That is how the process of accusing the Serbs began. It is thanks to that that the Communists have actually remained in power.

[Pavlekovic] What are the prospects for Croatian-Serbian relations?

[Cicak] There is no prospect, but there has to be one. Not because we want it, but because the West wants it. However, I am afraid that the UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force] units which have come to Croatia to preserve the peace will detract still more from interethnic relations in this republic. The Serbs will be ghettoized like tribes in Africa. They will live on aid from outside and will not be able to develop. That situation could last five, 10, or 15 years, but it will have to come to an end sometime. The sooner that happens, the better it will be for both Croats and Serbs. The role of the UNPROFOR units should not be mystified. They are not coming in order to protect Croats or Serbs, but to facilitate a flow of goods, money, and information from Europe eastward. Profit is the exclusive interest.

It is well-known even now that Croatia and Serbia are trading through Hungary and Austria, and the transactions involved are large. In Paris recently, when I remarked that it would be counterproductive for Europe to discontinue measures against Serbia, one acquaintance replied: "Forgive me, you Croats and the Croatian state are trading with Serbia when you are at war. Together you are manufacturing tanks and automobiles, and you expect us not to trade because of you. You are making fools of us." The West is right about that. Accordingly, if political forces are found in Croatia and Serbia that will work to reestablish relations between people rather than states, then those relations will be normalized at an earlier date. Those will be pioneering steps, but I do not see anything else.

God Save Us From a Repetition

[Pavlekovic] Is Croatia threatened by a danger of a strengthening of the right, or is its influence marginal?

[Cicak] The aim of strengthening right-wing forces is present throughout Europe. Fascism is already on the scene in Serbia. You have Seselj and the partners in the coalition of the incumbent party regardless of what they call themselves. So, as far as the danger of a totalitarian system is concerned, Croatia is no exception here.

[Pavlekovic] How much basis is there for the criticism that a new personality cult has been created in Croatia?

[Cicak] Absolutely. If there were no pressure from the West, Croatia would have sailed into totalitarianism long ago. But because the West does not want one old Yugoslav regime to replicate in six new models, all attempts that lead in that direction are being thwarted in one way or another.

[Pavlekovic] How do you explain the new methods of lynching in Croatia's political life? It is not the Communists who have been under attack, nor even the Serbs, but enemies are being looked for more and more even within the ranks of the same (incumbent) party.

[Cicak] I would say that those are old methods which have now been revived. I have been forecasting that the first ones attacked would be the snipers, then Serbs generally, and then those defending the Serbs, and it will go on that way to the end. That is the model, well-known from the days of communism, which is now eating itself. It is interesting that I, who have received all offers of flattering power, am today being accused of careerism and of everything I am not. In this ugly system, the worst scourges and pursuers of the Catholic church have become the model of Catholicism. I renounce any Catholicism of which Josip Manolic is the model.

[Pavlekovic] Every day we are witnesses to the horror on the battlefield of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Can the Bosnian drama be stopped?

[Cicak] Totalitarian and imperial systems focus on imperialism to the end. Accordingly, Milosevic's machine cannot stop.

That is why it is an illusion to expect that Serbia can be stopped without a military defeat. In the end, American airplanes will be bombing Belgrade. Let us not forget that this happened in 1944 on the orthodox Easter. God save us from that happening again anywhere, but there is no other way to stop the Serbian machine.

[Pavlekovic] Where does so much hatred come from?

[Cicak] One of the things I have said is that this is a country in which you can reach out and touch the hatred. I detected that long before the war. Communism, to put it metaphysically, is a satanic system which grew up on hatred. It has been systematically implanted in people, and this relates not only to ethnic sentiments. Communism simply destroyed the Christian soul of the European peoples who live here.

[Box, p 14]

Tudjman's Vanity

Vlado Gotovac is realistically the only one who can threaten Tudjman, assuming he organizes a good election campaign and brings the right people together. My assessment is that Tudjman will not make it in the first round. This is extremely important, because he has been assuring himself that he is the son sent by God to be the leader of all the Croats, Japanese, Indonesians, and Tatars in Croatia. If he does not make it through in the first round, I am certain that his morbid vanity will not be able to survive that. In any case, I support the thesis that Tudjman should be elected president because soon after that the street is going to settle accounts with him. Tudjman will never understand that Croatia is not the lawn around his villa "Zagorje." But the people are fortunately realizing this more and more. Tudjman could not win in Slavonia even if he grew two heads. Nor in Dalmatia. At the moment, he can win elections in Zagreb and possibly in Zagorje.

[Box, p 14]

Rage and Hatred

Serbia today is in exactly the same situation that Germany was in 1945. While the allied forces were systematically defeating it and rushing toward Berlin, the Germans were still talking about the great Reich. The same with Serbia as it loses the war even though it seems that it is winning the war, it is losing it, but it is not ceasing to speak about an expanded Serbia. What is the expanded Serbia in the name of which territory is being conquered not for possession, but for destruction? What does Serbia want with Vukovar and Mostar, which have been destroyed, what does it want with Bosnia, which has been set on fire? This means that Serbian politics is eminently aware that this is not the end, that it will not end here, but in rage and hatred it wants to destroy

everything that it knows in advance it will not possess. The world still has not seen what is happening today in Bosnia. People are being scalped there, their genitals are being cut, they are being impaled. Go ahead and write it down. I am not talking off the top of my head. I know exactly where that happened.

Helsinki Watch Letter on Human Rights Violations

92BA1001A Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 92 p 10

[Letter by Jeri Laber, executive director of Helsinki Watch, to Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, 22 May]

[Text] His Excellency Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia

Dear President Tudjman:

Helsinki Watch welcomes the constructive efforts of the Croatian Government to point out violations of human rights and the laws of humanity in Croatia in recent months. Nevertheless, Helsinki Watch is deeply disturbed by recent steps that the Croatian authorities have taken to prevent freedom of speech, expression, and assembly in Croatia. We are particularly concerned because of the following cases:

The deputy municipal prosecutor in Zagreb has requested that investigatory proceedings be instituted against Milorad Pupovac, president of the Serbian Democratic Forum. The request was forwarded to the investigating judge of the district court in Zagreb on 5 May. According to allegations originating in the office of the public prosecutor, Mr. Pupovac will be subjected to an investigation for "spreading false reports" and "disquieting the public," because he supposedly asserted that Serbian children had been forcibly converted to the Catholic faith in Croatia, an assertion that the Croatian authorities deny.

Similarly, sometime before 21 May investigatory proceedings were instituted against Tanja Torbarina, columnist for GLOBUS, Jelena Lovric, columnist for DANAS, Denis Kuljis, editor in chief of GLOBUS, and Dobroslav Paraga, president of the Croatian Rights Party. The aforementioned persons, it is alleged, are accused of "spreading false reports," and some have been charged with slander. An equal fear prevails that similar charges may be filed against the authors of "Feral Tribune" in SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, Viktor Ivancic, Predrag Lucic, and Boris Dezulovic.

Helsinki Watch believes that no person should be punished for peaceful expression of his views regardless of the content. Under the Criminal Code of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, many persons—including you yourself and members of the present Croatian Government, were imprisoned for "verbal crimes." Helsinki Watch believes that Article 197 of the Croatian Criminal Code—under which Milorad Pupovac and the others have been charged—continues to regard speech as punishable. Helsinki Watch believes that all such laws restricting freedom of expression, speech, and the press must be repealed.

When someone has been charged with slander or defamation, maliciousness, heedless underestimation of the truth, or evidence of real harm suffered by private persons must be established. Helsinki watch believes that public figures and government officials cannot manipulate laws on slander and defamation in order to stifle disagreement and criticism of the government or freedom of the press.

Helsinki Watch believes that the Croatian authorities have instituted investigatory proceedings against the aforementioned journalists and public figures solely because of their critical attitude toward the Croatian Government. Helsinki Watch believes that there is no basis for investigation against any of the aforementioned persons and calls upon the Croatian Government to halt all investigatory and judicial proceedings against them.

The founding meeting of the Social Democratic Union was supposed to be held in Zagreb on 5 May 1992. The police authorities were notified of the meeting, and the hall for the meeting was paid for in advance. When the delegates arrived at the meeting, they were told that the hall could not be opened for technical reasons. The organizers then contacted the local police, where they were told that the meeting could not be held for "security reasons." At the request of the police, about 300 people who had gathered for the meeting peacefully dispersed. Helsinki Watch is concerned that by prohibiting the meeting of the Social Democratic Union the Croatian Government is attempting to prevent creation of an opposition party and expression of the political views of the left center.

In early April, the Croatian police prohibited the holding of the International Peace Conference organized by the Croatian Antiwar Council on the island of Vis, where the personnel of the Yugoslav Army are still stationed. The meeting was allegedly prohibited for "security reasons." In a letter to the organizer of the conference, presidential adviser Mario Nobilo said that the conference could not be held so that such a meeting could not be used "as an excuse for repression of the island's Croatian population by the Serbian forces." Mr. Nobilo also asserted that "any discussion whatsoever of the future military status of the island can be organized only after the Republic of Croatia restores its full sovereignty over the island." Helsinki Watch believes that the peaceful meeting of antiwar activists would represent a small risk of provoking an attack of forces of the Yugoslav Army still stationed on the island. What is more, limiting discussion of the island's military status is a violation of the law of free speech.

Helsinki Watch is greatly concerned that the recent steps taken by the Croatian Government to restrict freedom of

assembly, speech, and the press are aimed at stifling criticism of the present authorities and the incumbent party on the eve of the upcoming elections in Croatia. Members of the Croatian Government have consistently been trying to ostracize independent journalists, political figures, and others, equating their criticism of the Croatian Government with "treason to the nation" or "support of Serbian aggression against Croatia." Helsinki Watch is concerned that such statements by government officials have contributed to the attacks on such persons by individual extremists.

Vladimir Seks, Croatian public prosecutor, is said to have announced that thousands of persons will soon be charged with "war crimes" or so-called "verbal crimes." Helsinki Watch calls upon the Croatian Government to refrain from conducting a "witch-hunt" against political opponents, journalists, and others who are critical of the incumbent regime or political party.

Helsinki Watch believes that bans on political meetings, harassment, and intimidation with criminal proceedings against journalists who are critical and opposition figures constitute a serious obstacle to development of democracy and respect for human rights in Croatia. Helsinki Watch calls upon the Croatian Government to respect the civil and political rights of its citizens regardless of their political, religious, ethnic, or national ties or orientation.

Helsinki Watch welcomes the last response of the Croatian Government to the concern of the international community about human rights. We believe that you will take under careful consideration our most recent concern and take steps to protect the civil and political rights of Croatian citizens.

Respectfully,
[signed] Executive Director Jeri Laber

Drnovsek Calls for CSCE To Unblock Sarajevo

AU1006195392 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Slovene Premier Janez Drnovsek sent a letter on 9 June to the heads of state and government of the CSCE member countries demanding urgent military intervention in order to lift the blockade on Sarajevo airport. This was reported by AFP, quoting the Slovene press agency.

It is cited that in his letter Drnovsek called for urgent military intervention by European associations and organizations primarily to lift the blockade on Sarajevo airport in order to allow the citizens of Sarajevo to survive and to prevent air and sea operations from ports in Montenegro and Serbian and Montenegrin air bases.

Pinheiro Against NATO Intervention in Bosnia

LD1006135292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1217 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 Jun (TANJUG)—Portugese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro is explicitly against intervention by NATO forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina. According to his statement during a short visit to Slovenia on his way to Zagreb today, he "sincerely hopes that UN units will be deployed in Bosnia-Hercegovina." He also presented his conviction that armed conflicts in that part of former Yugoslavia must be halted in a peaceful way, observing the rights of nations that live there.

The Portugese foreign minister was seen off to the Croatian border by Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel.

Koper Port Authorities Breach Sanctions

LD1006134692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] The port authorities in Koper [Slovenia] have breached UN resolution 757 by allowing the Budva ship to sail into Slovene territorial waters. The Budva, owned by the Montenegro shipping line Jugo-Okeanija of Kotor and registered in Malta, has delivered to the Koper port 11,000 tons of magnesium ore from Port Elizabeth. Crews of the Brodospas tugboats have prevented the ship from docking by refusing to provide a tow. The Budva is still at anchor in the Koper port.

Kucan Says Nation Ready To Join EC in 1995

AU1006092792 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 10 Jun 92 p 2

[Eric Frey report: "Kucan: Slovenia Ready for EC as Early as 1995"]

[Text] Basel—In the view of Slovene President Milan Kucan, a foreign military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina would be useful only if the Federal Yugoslav Army were to crumble completely. Because if the soldiers are no longer controlled by anyone, only military power could stop the killing. Kucan said on the fringes of the annual conference of the "Institute for East-West Studies." However, "this is not yet the case. Serbia controls the Army, and it is following orders from Belgrade."

Therefore, at the moment political and economic pressure on the Serbian leadership is useful. The conflict in the former Yugoslavia will last many years, Kucan believes. Even if the war stops, constant political violence will turn may areas into a second Northern Ireland, the president predicts. Bosnia is facing division under Serbian and Croatian rule as a result of Serbia's policy of "national purification." For Slovenia, Kucan predicts speedy integration into Western Europe. Joining the other former Yugoslav republics is impossible because Slovenia has always been oriented more toward the north than toward the south, also in economic terms.

Problem United Nations [subhead]

Kucan told DER STANDARD that in Ljubljana's view, the country would be ready to join the EC as early as in 1995, provided that it receives sufficient financial aid from the industrialized countries. As a result of UN membership, the path toward the IMF, World Bank, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development is open, which makes the flow of capital to Slovenia easier.

Economic cooperation with Hungary, the CSFR, and Poland would be fully in Slovenia's interest. Kucan admonishes: "The future is currently being decided in Eastern Europe. Western Europe should pay attention to that."

Maryland Governor Schaefer Talks With Premier

92P20296A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 30 May 92 p 16

[Article by D.K.: "Fruitful Cooperation With Maryland"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 29 May—Governor of Maryland William Donald Schaefer visited Slovenia today. This morning, together with Prime Minister of Slovenia Dr. Janez Drnovsek, he signed a declaration of friendly cooperation between Maryland and Slovenia. Schaefer met also with Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency, Feri Horvat, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Minister of Science and Technology Tancig, Minister of Information Kacin, and Minister of Transport and Commmunication Kranjc.

During the talks at the Chamber of Commerce it was mentioned that the state of Maryland, with a population of five million (and the port of Baltimore, Washington, D.C.), could be a springboard for Slovene trade in the United States. Maryland will also cosponsor a business conference on cooperation with Slovenia, which will take place in Washington in October. It will provide export insurance for its firms that trade with Slovenia and help the Slovene [pharmaceutical] firms Lek and Krka enter the U.S. market. A delegation of the Central Bank of Maryland is expected to visit Slovenia in June.

Federal

Army Chief on Threat of Military Intervention

LD1006215892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1950 GMT 10 Jun 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 10 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Army Chief of General Staff General Zivota Panic said military intervention against Yugoslavia "represents a constant threat" and that everything must be done to "contribute to calming the war situation."

General Panic set out these assessments at the top army officers consultations on the military-political situation and transformation of the Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Belgrade on Tuesday, writes the Army weekly VOJSKA in Thursday's issue.

General Panic underscored that there were "constant and dosed threats on the use of force along with the instrumentation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), NATO, the Western European Union, (WEU), and, in some modalities, even the U.S. military force installed in Europe and the Mediterranean."

General Panic said the threat of military intervention, in several modalities, was the most serious form of endangering Yugoslavia's security and independence, VOJSKA writes.

According to General Panic, these modalities boil down to limiting military action against the positions of forces of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the interference of foreign forces in a possible civil war in Serbia and support to the secession of Kosovo and Sandzak, followed by the gradual spreading of the intervention from sending observers, through support and securing of humanitarian aid and logistic support to the military forces of neighbours, to open intervention by NATO, WEU and U.S. forces.

General Panic said the method of intervention would be taken "[word indistinct] arsenal of the doctrine of conflicts of low intensity" and that vital facilities would be the target of long- distance attacks" VOJSKA writes.

The priority tasks of the Army of Yugoslavia, according to General Panic, would be to contribute to calming the war situation, which also implies influencing the Bosnia-Hercegovina leadership to control the fighting and observe the ceasefire.

General Panic pointed out the intensive reconnaissance and intelligence activity on Yugoslav territory as well as the "encouraging of some neighbouring states to openly express claims to Yugoslavia," VOJSKA said.

Government Appeals for Further Aid for Refugees

LD1106095192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1757 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, June 10 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has appealed to international organisations for additional aid for refugees and displaced persons, victims of armed clashes in the territory of former Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Ministry of Information said on Wednesday that the international aid received so far is invaluable, but that it is insufficient for the constantly growing number of refugees and displaced persons fleeing their homes in war-hit territories of former Yugoslavia.

According to the latest data issued by the U.N. High Commissioner's Office for Refugees, through specialized U.N. agencies aid worth more than 22 million dollars has been sent so far to different parts of former Yugoslavia.

In May the U.N. appealed to donators to increase the joint budget of the high commissioner's office, UNICEF and the World Health Organisation by 174.4 million dollars.

Expectations are that by the end of August this year 65.2 million dollars will be engaged through the U.N. for refugees and displaced persons in the territory of all the republics of former Yugoslavia.

According to the U.N. High Commissioner's Office for Refugees there are more than 1.2 million refugees and displaced persons in the territory of former Yugoslavia.

In the Republic of Serbia alone there are about 340 thousand refugees, of whom 150 thousand are from the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

'Mysterious' Aspect of Dubrovnik Operation Viewed

92BA0986B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 92 p 9

[Article by Velizar Brajovic: "Dubrovnik: The Montenegrins Are Remaining"]

[Text] Although on the eve of his retirement Rear Admiral Miodrag Jokic, commander of the Boka Naval District, associated withdrawal of the army from the Dubrovnik theater with Vance's plan, nothing in fact has happened there: It is a fact, however, that the border of the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] has been clearly defined, just as it is clear that the official army of the new state is now outside its borders. No one knows to what border line the army will withdraw or win. The dissonant tones of military and civilian authorities over resolving the "Prevlaka" dispute made the end of the so-called Dubrovnik operation utterly mysterious.

The words of Colonel Bozidar Babic, defense minister of Montenegro, to the effect that "the status quo remain" in

the Dubrovnik theater "until the issue of Prevlaka is settled," but also the appeal of President Momir Bulatovic for removal of the blockade of Dubrovnik in order to create conditions for negotiations about Prevlaka, are still ringing in the ears. After that—silence from both. It was broken on 19 May by Colonel General Pavle Strugar, commander of the second operational group of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] for Hercegovina: "We have completely carried out our combat missions," General Strugar said. "At the last moment, we went to the ethnic borders of the Serbian and Croatian nationalities, on the other side of Popovo Polje and on the Neretva, and in that way we prevented disastrous conflicts."

Gen. Strugar reports that the operations were not aimed at conquering anyone's territory, but at separating the belligerent nationalities and protecting the Serbian people, and that the army withdrew to the ethnic borders between the opstinas of Trebinje and Ljubinje, on the one hand, and the Neum and Dubrovnik regions on the other. Those borders are now controlled by the army of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H], and all members of the Podgorica Corps are "nationals of the FRY who have consented (!?), have been returned from the front." He also mentioned volunteers who remained there because of kinship ties with Hercegovinians, but not withdrawal from the Dubrovnik theater.

He agrees that the problem of Prevlaka should be solved by the authorities of Montenegro, the FRY, and Croatia, but he also has an original proposal: "Prevlaka should be examined from the hydrographic, geographic, economic, and other aspects of international law and established criteria. Prevlaka is not just that little peninsula, but indeed a broader area. That is why the present administrative border is not a natural one."

"On behalf of a permanent solution of this problem," the general proposes that the border be drawn along the eastern edge of Konovalo, which would avoid "cutting" the natural route for Hercegovinians to Herceg-Novi, which would be a real border with Croatia, and that is where it was in the time of Napoleon and Austro-Hungary.

It is hard to say to what extent the views of civilian and military authorities coincide here; disagreements broke to the surface only when the Dubrovnik operation began. Well-informed sources say that the army must fight at all costs for an outlet to the sea for Hercegovina. The representatives of military authorities will miss no opportunity to emphasize that the decision on everything will be made by the civilian authority and that the army will carry out any mission to implement that.

Metropolitan Amfilohije became involved in resolving the disputes of the military and state in a sermon he delivered in Ostrog Monastery on Saint Vasilije of Ostrog Day: "Do not be surprised," the metropolitan said, "if any day 100,000 Hercegovinians, left homeless, come into Montenegro. Why and wherefore? Because those who promised to preserve it are today giving it up, it is being given up by the government in Montenegro, it is being given up by the army, it is being given up by Serbia! Unbelievers. Unfaithful to God, today they are betraying even their own people! On behalf of their own interests, on behalf of their own power...." It remains to be seen whether Hercegovinians will put pressure on Montenegro. However, we have noticed a growth of forces not reconciled to this kind of ending of the war and who do not want Hercegovina outside Montenegro and the FRY. Specifically, the Secretariat for National Defense [SNO] for Montenegro and Hercegovina, with headquarters in Titograd, the "White Eagles" organization, the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] for the Montenegrin coast, and the Association of Serbs in B-H are working on this. The SNO is calling for volunteers to defend the border on the Neretva, but also deep within the Dubrovnik region.

The expectations have not been borne out, perhaps precisely because no one at the moment wants to take responsibility for what has happened. Thus, the Montenegrins are still preserving Dubrovnik from the people of Dubrovnik, but they are profoundly restrained in their conviction that they are waging a just war.

Federal

Federal Assembly Meets To Elect Officials

AU1106070092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0200 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] The newly elected deputies to the Federal Assembly of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will meet today at 0900 to inaugurate the parliament of the new state in separate sessions of the Chamber of Citizens and the Chamber of Republics.

The assembly will first verify the terms of office of all deputies in both assembly chambers and then adopt provisional rules of procedure. Deputy clubs should also be set up so that they can propose the candidates for the chairmen and vice chairmen of the chambers and elect them.

The election of the chambers' chairmen will be presided over by the oldest deputies until the chairmen are elected. This will be Bogosav Bozic, a farmer from Paljur near Ub, in the Chamber of Citizens, and Bosko Golovic from Niksic, in the Chamber of Republics.

There is also a possibility of the first president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia being elected at the first session of the new federal parliament. This was confirmed by Risto Vukcevic, chairman of the Montenegrin Parliament, at a meeting with the newly elected deputies to the new federal assembly from Montenegro. Vukcevic also said that amendments to the law on the election of the president of the republic will be proposed. These amendments would radically reduce the procedure of electing a new head of state. Svetozar Marovic, general

secretary of the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists, has been mentioned as a candidate for the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from Montenegro.

Assembly Chamber Sessions Begin

AU1106084092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Zoran Vaskovic and Olivija Rusovac report from the federal parliament]

[Text] [Vaskovic] The session of the Chamber of Republics was opened by the oldest deputy Bosko Golovic, a businessman from Niksic, at 0915. This chamber of the federal parliament has 40 deputies, 20 from Serbia and, so far, 15 from Montenegro. The opposition parties in Montenegro have not decided yet on the remaining five deputies.

Chairman Bosko Golovic announced the verification of the newly elected deputies' term of office as the first point on the agenda. A six-member committee for verification was set up. The committee consists of members of all parties. After that, there was a break so that the members of the committee could check all documents and submit a report to the chamber. This was done and members of the committee have submitted a report to the chamber. The report was adopted. The chamber is currently discussing a proposed version of the provisional rules of procedure concerning the work of the chamber. After that, the chamber will elect the chairman and vice chairman of the chamber.

[Rusovac] The Chamber of Citizens briefly met about 15 minutes ago in order to elect a six-member verification committee, which is currently verifying the appointments of the deputies to the Chamber of Citizens. The session of the Chamber of Citizens was opened by the oldest deputy, Bogosav Bozic, a farmer from around Ub.

After the verification of appointments, the Chamber of Citizens should adopt provisional rules of procedure concerning the work of the chamber, elect the chairman and vice chairman of the chamber, and elect commissions and committees and their chairmen.

The chamber should also discuss the proposal made by deputy Zarija Martinovic, according to which the law on the election and dismissal of the president of the republic needs to be amended. Martinovic is proposing that on assuming duties the president should take a solemn oath, which is not envisaged by the current law. Ten deputies of the Chamber of Citizens, five from Serbia and five from Montenegro, proposed that the chairman of the Chamber of Citizens, excuse me [Rusovac corrects herself], that the chairman of the Chamber of Republics be Dr. Milos Radulovic, a deputy from Montenegro. Dr. Vojislav Seselj also proposed an interesting amendment. He wants the sessions of the Chamber of Citizens to be broadcast live on television.

This is all from the Assembly of Yugoslavia.

Chambers Confirm Appointments

AU1106094492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Zoran Vaskovic and Olivija Rusovac report from the Federal Assembly in Belgrade—live or recorded]

[Text] [Vaskovic] At the beginning of its session the Chamber of Republics confirmed the appointments of the newly elected deputies. Of these, 20 are from Serbia and 15 from Montenegro. The chamber then adopted the rules of procedure on the provisional work of the Chamber of Republics. Dr. Milos Radulovic, full time professor at the Faculty of Economics in Podgorica, was elected chairman of the chamber. He was born in 1929. The proposals for his appointment came from five deputies from Serbia and five deputies from of Montenegro. Radovan Pankov, born in 1946, was elected vice chairman of the chamber. He is a teacher by profession.

A break was called about half an hour ago and it will last until 1200. In the meantime consultations will be held on the election of chairmen and members of the working bodies, committees, and commissions of the Federal Assembly.

[Rusovac] The Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Assembly has confirmed the appointments of 136 deputies. Provisional rules of procedure on the work of the chamber were adopted with several amendments. The first of them refers to the live television relays of the sessions of the Chamber of Citizens. The amendment for this was submitted by the deputy group of the Serbian Radical Party. Deputy Jovan Glamocanin said that live relays are necessary at normal times, but even more so at present. In this way the Assembly would work more successfully against the non-parliamentary anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav opposition, Glamocanin said.

Vojin Vuletic from the Serbian Radical Party spoke about the need to correct the wrong picture about Yugoslavia conveyed via live television relays of the chamber's session in a similar way. Socialist Milovan Vitezovic opposed this proposal, backing his argument with the need to cut costs and with the technical difficulties concerning relays. The amendment was nevertheless adopted with 116 votes for, six against, and two abstentions.

Zarija Martinovic's proposal was also accepted. According to his proposal, the election of the secretary of the chamber ought to be postponed until the next session so that additional consultations can be held.

The Chamber of Citizens is in recess at present. The deputies are supposed to proposes the chairman and vice chairman of the chamber during this break.

This is all from the Federal Assembly.

Citizens Chamber Elects Leadership

AU1106113192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Correspondent Olivija Rusovac report]

[Text] The Chamber of Citizens has elected its chairman and vice chairman. At the proposal of the Socialist Party of Serbia's deputy group, Jugoslav Kostic, currently member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, was elected chairman of the Chamber of Citizens. Kostic received votes from 127 deputies, with two opposed.

The Serbian Radical Party's deputy group proposed its general secretary, Aleksandar Stepanovic, for vice chairman of the Chamber of Citizens. Stepanovic received 116 votes, with three opposed and one abstention.

Jugoslav Kostic and Aleksandar Stepanovic were elected by a show of hands.

Expressing his thanks at being entrusted with this post, Jugoslav Kostic expressed his hope that the deputies will be united when it comes to issues like freedom, democracy, and the integrity of Yugoslavia. Kostic mentioned the establishment of the rule of law, work, and peace and order as the parliament's primary tasks. By our adherence to the integrity of Yugoslavia we should show the enemy at home and abroad that it cannot take this country off the list of nations, Jugoslav Kostic stressed.

Consultations currently are being held in the deputies groups concerning the election of the assembly's commissions and committees, and of their chairmen.

That is all from the federal assembly.

Joint Session To Elect President

AU1106112192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Olivija Rusovac report from the Federal Assembly—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] The Chamber of Citizens has not elected the chairman and vice chairman of the chamber yet. It is obvious that the consultations on candidates are still going on in this prolonged break. According to the amendments to the rules of procedure adopted today, they will be elected by a secret ballot. [passage omitted]

As we have unofficially learned, a joint session of the Chamber of Citizens and the Chamber of Republics has been called for 1400. Foreign correspondents, including reporters from the republics that made up the former Yugoslavia, have been invited to attend. We assume that the session will elect the president of the republic. However, this information must be taken with reservations. It has also been heard hear that there is a certain possibility of the head of the new federal government being proposed today.

Presidential Election 15 Jun

AU1106140392 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Respected listeners, according to a report sent by our correspondent in the Federal Assembly, the election of the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is going to be carried out on 15 June. Journalists were told this by Deputy Borisav Jovic. In the meantime all authorized proposers may submit their proposals for candidates for president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Obradovic Career, Resignation Viewed

92BA0986A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 92 p 8

[Article by Aleksandar Ciric: "Vuk O."]

[Text] Vuk Obradovic attracted internal (military) media attention back in the early 1970's. In the "popular" pamphlets intended for the life of the soldier and arising out of that life, hopelessly buried in the bottom of the crate containing the office equipment of the company, platoon, or battery, the cadet V.O. is mentioned as a model of the best. In everything, of course. He was publicly promoted as a young captain in 1973, marked as a "hero of the new age" and "Captain Vuk." A myth was circulated about him, and still is, as the officer, aside from the wartime commanders, who made his way fastest through the rank structure of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]—an undertaking in a certain sense that is undoubtedly easier than breaching an enemy encirclement in war. He became a "friend of the public" in 1989, when the General Staff made the unexpectedly good—and proportionately short-lived—move to make Colonel Vuk Obradovic the spokesman of the SSNO [Federal Secretariat for National Defense]: The inability and/or unwillingness of the General Staff to answer the questions of the public (interest was generally concentrated on the question of whether we were looking at the end or beginning of the untanglement of the Yugoslav "crisis") was nothing he could cover up or dispel, so the less Col. Obradovic was able to explain, the more categorical he was. The press conferences first became less frequent, then they were postponed, and finally they were discontinued.

Vuk quickly reappeared as chief of staff of Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, who came in as the "continuity general" and left as a "traitor," all from the point of view of the same people. The post was envisaged in the table of organization for a general, and Vuk Obradovic was promoted to that rank when the time was probably least propitious for him, on the jubilee (1941-91) Army Day, when his superior officer, by all appearances, had already sketched out his resignation, which he would "formalize" on 7 January of this year, after the downing of the two EC helicopters (and the death of the same number of people). Vuk did not make public appearances in the meantime; the

reason was he had surgery done on a bad spine, or there were a great number of other reasons, according to rumors that came from that same public. He was seen again at an "interesting" moment, at a reception for the general staff team given by Patriarch Pavle, this March. He was already chief of the SSNO Administration for Moral Training.

That administration was once referred to as the Administration for MPV, that is, for moral and political training; as an activist in it, Vuk Obradovic actually spent and gained his entire career, and also the criticism from the establishment that he is not a "field" officer, but a "political" officer. The director Lazar Stojanovic is one of the best-known victims (two years in prison) of Capt. Vuk, who at that time (in 1973) was barely 33 and was serving in the Pozarevac Garrison. Five years later, having moved up one rank, Vuk Obradovic was "commissar" of the garrison in Postojna (which, with a population of 3,000, has twice that many soldiers), and then he was promoted out of turn three more times. The parents of soldiers who after everything had the misfortune to be in Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H] were promised they would get their boys back on 7 May of this year, 19 May at the latest. All the boys were returned, Gen. Vuk Obradovic kept his promise, which is to his credit, at least until all the circumstances are cleared up: On 20 May, he submitted his resignation and the so-called (half-) Presidency of the former SFRY adopted it with amazing speed on the same day.

Vuk Obradovic is 45 years old today; he was born in 1947 in the village Kondzelj near Prokupije as one of nine children of the Obradovic family. He had a military scholarship from the age of 13 (in 1960). After he finished the Ground Forces Military Academy, the National Defense School, and the War School (average grade: 10), he became a military doctor of science on the topic "The Nationality Question in Yugoslavia, With a Particular Look at Nationalism in the Armed Forces"; the book *Drustvo, nacionalizam, odbrana* (*Society, Nationalism, Defense*) and the previous 50 writings he published also deal with the question of interethnic relations, a favorite topic for scientific theory within socialism as a world process, a favorite until we again began to eradicate one another and do so on an ethnic basis.

The public considers him the one who started the "purge of the generals" in the (former) JNA: Two well-timed public speeches strongly support that conviction: On 25 February, he was introduced as a "man who favors rapid reform of the army, but also one of the most persistent and consistent in the fight to protect the Serbs in the krajinas." A month later (on 26 March, interview in POLITIKA), he announced that a large number of commissioned and noncommissioned officers would soon be retired and that an up-to-date deideologized and rational army would be created to meet the needs of the new state (i.e., the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). On that same occasion, he said that professionals would make up the new army of Serbia and Montenegro ("there will be fewer uniformed people than ever in our history"), that the length of required military service would be limited to six or eight months, and that the political institutions of the new state would have the decisive influence on the profile of the army. Vuk Obradovic got around the Bosnia-Hercegovina question, which was already too hot, by taking the position that "the confederal model for arrangement of B-H is best suited if each constituent unit has its own military formations, which would be reoriented and coordinated by a joint body at the level of the republic."

This story naturally lacks an explanation of the goals, meaning, and range of last week's resignation of Gen. Vuk Obradovic. Ignoring for the present the unconfirmed (but no less reliable for that) suppositions about the "chaotic mess" in the SSNO, General Staff, and what until yesterday was the JNA, forgetting Vuk's large family, its connections, influence, and role in the disintegration of Yugoslavia (Pavic Obradovic, vice president of the Serbian Assembly, Andrija Obradovic, said to be an important general in telecommunications, Zoran Obradovic, general director of the firm Yugoslavia Commerce, and so on, and so forth), and even guesses about Gen. Obradovic's state of health, there remains at least one question. It comes down to this: Forty-five years of a "brilliant" career (and life) is not sacrificed without good reason. Ambition proven by biography might possibly end with a statement "I, the emperor, and God." From that angle, one could hardly imagine a better occasion than the word (and responsibility) of the honorable officer given to the mothers whose children "someone" had left without protection—to get rid of a uniform that the entire world already sees to be dirty. Vuk Obradovic was born under the sign of the ram, and no one should forget that. Indeed, a very ugly subspecies of rams that are ugly anyway.

Serbia

Italian Paper Interviews Jovanovic on Conflict

PM1106102892 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 7-8 Jun 92 p16

[Interview with Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Dusan Pilic and Guido Rampoldi in Belgrade; date not given]

[Text] Belgrade—Thundery rain. The latest radio news bulletin also rained down on Belgrade's gloom. There is fierce fighting in Sarajevo and elsewhere despite the fact that there are now some signs which arouse hope of a compromise. "It is a tragic war," Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic sighed. Quite right, minister. But can you explain to us why your government continues to supply the Serbian side with gasoline and spare parts? How are you unable to curb militias which depend on your supplies?

"We can exert some influence, it is true, but limited. The Bosnian Serbs are fighting to defend their rights, and are

prepared to heed our appeals only when they deem it convenient. In other words, it is their war, not ours. We condemn the bombardment of Sarajevo and Mostar and the attacks on the army barracks, and the terror unleashed against the population. But the roots of the conflict lie in Bosnia, and the influence of the neighbors (Serbia and Croatia) cannot stop it, nor it is adequate reason to explain the start of the fighting."

[LA REPUBBLICA] Are you at least prepared to admit that the Serbian militia started this war?

[Jovanovic] The fuse was lit by the Bosnian president when he violated the constitutional principles of equality and consensus among Serbs, Croatians, and Muslims, arbitrarily proclaiming independence. The EEC contributed by recognizing Bosnia too quickly. And the three peoples started to fight with heavy weapons taken from the army, and the Croatians also with those supplied by the Zagreb government, backed by Austria and Germany.

[LA REPUBBLICA] You talk of three peoples and omit the fourth. In Bosnia they all—Serbs, Croatians, and Muslims—regard themselves as one nation.

[Jovanovic] I do not think that is the case. Perhaps that happened when the principles of equality were respected in Bosnia. Perhaps it will happen when they stop killing each other and find a solution.

[LA REPUBBLICA] You want to turn Bosnia into a confederation of three sovereign states, and the Bosnian presidency rejects that partition. What room is there for compromise?

[Jovanovic] Room will be found when the bloodshed stops. But until then it is clear that Croatians and Serbians are calling for a confederation and only Bosnian President Izetbegovic is opposing that. He is a fundamentalist, although well disguised. He wants the Muslim majority to dominate the other two peoples. He wants a united Bosnia: But in that case why did he not want a united Yugoslavia?

[LA REPUBBLICA] Why do you invoke the right to self-determination for the Bosnian Serbs and deny it to more than 2 million Albanians living in Kosovo, a Serbian province?

[Jovanovic] The Albanians, who number 1.5 million, have the status of a minority not a constituent nation of Yugoslavia, like the Serbs. In that case, the Austrians in South Tyrol would have the right to secede.

[LA REPUBBLICA] There is a great deal of conventionalism in the double standards you apply. But to return to Bosnia: Do you or do you not intend to accept the conditions drawn up in the two Security Council resolutions?

[Jovanovic] The federal presidency will send a reply to Butrus Ghali in the next few hours. I think that answer will be positive. At the same time, we have sent an appeal to Russia to ask for a fairer assessment of our position.

[LA REPUBBLICA] Moscow's support for the sanctions contradicts the theory of a German-American plot put forward by the Serbs, do you not agree?

[Jovanovic] The fact that the United States is the only superpower does not worry us, provided a peaceful solution is sought which shows balance and justice toward all the republics of former Yugoslavia. However, looking at the international press, the real aim is not to solve the crisis but to bring down the Serbian leadership.

[LA REPUBBLICA] You talk of peace, but in Belgrade and in Serbia, the armed militias and the extreme right are declaring outright war against Croatia and against the Muslims.

[Jovanovic] We are living in a situation of war and post-war which is still poisoned by many resentments. It would be easy to suppress those forces. But we have taken the path of democracy and we do not want to turn back. We are preparing to offer the other parties entry into the federal government. Even opposition parties like Micunovic's Democrats (the third biggest Serbian party and one of President Milosevic's bitterest opponents—LA REPUBBLICA editor's note).

[LA REPUBBLICA] A section of the opposition might be prepared to do that, but in return for a drastic reappraisal of President Milosevic's role. Is there any chance of agreement on this basis?

[Jovanovic] If the precondition is ousting Milosevic, I am afraid there is no chance. Milosevic is the only person who represents the wishes of the Serbs, and in the elections two years ago he had more votes than anybody else. And I do not understand why there is an emphasis on the reappraisal of the Serbian president's role. I can guarantee that Milosevic will not be the new president of the Yugoslav federation. Whoever occupies that position will be, as the Constitution stipulates, a "strong president" (in other words, with more power than that of Serbian President Milosevic). As a principle, nobody rules out the possibility of an opposition leader, like Micunovic, becoming president if, as we hope, a coalition government is formed.

[LA REPUBBLICA] A section of the opposition is issuing a public challenge to topple Milosevic. Does this worry you?

[Jovanovic] Yes, but it should also worry Europe. The method of winning power by revolution is a vestige of the Bolshevik culture which is present throughout Yugoslavia. While the opposition limits itself to exercising the right to express its view, the police will not intervene. But if it tries to overthrow the government by violence, it will be a different matter.

[LA REPUBBLICA] Why do you not use the police against "Captain Arkan's" gang who are responsible for the massacre in Bijelijna, in Bosnia?

[Jovanovic] To the best of my knowledge, Arkan crossed the border with Bosnia as a private individual, unarmed, just for a few days. He took up arms on the other side of the border.

[LA REPUBBLICA] What difference does that make?

[Jovanovic] Many Italian and German mercenaries are fighting alongside the Croatians, as are Poles, 27 of whom were killed in the battle of Kupres alone. And yet we are not making accusations against the Rome, Bonn, and Warsaw governments. We regard ourselves as responsible for the Serbian citizens who are defending their families in Bosnia. There are 500,000 Serbs of Bosnian origin.

[LA REPUBBLICA] But can you repudiate "citizen" Arkan? He told us that he and his men are working with the Yugoslav army.

[Jovanovic] I do not know what Arkan is saying. In Croatia, his volunteers fought not "together with" but under the command of the army. After that, every possible measure was taken to disarm Arkan and those like him.

[LA REPUBBLICA] Disarm? What about the gunmen outside the gang's headquarters?

[Jovanovic] They can carry arms for personal use. In the past three months, our police have arrested 237 people for wearing a uniform or for chauvinistic activity. And the border with Bosnia is carefully monitored.

[LA REPUBBLICA] Borders in former Yugoslavia are an abstract concept. The extreme right promises that it will fight until Serbia includes the whole of Dalmatia. And how does your government view Krajina? Is it Serbian or Croatian?

[Jovanovic] The extreme right is free to cherish its megalomaniacal dreams—the product of the violence suffered by our people. Krajina has never been Serbian. It will be possible to decide its future in 5 or 10 years' time, when the situation will be radically different.

SPS Supports Milosevic, Criticizes Opposition

LD1006203792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1807 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 10 June (TANJUG)—Today TANJUG received the following statement dispatched by the Main Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS]:

At the first democratic and multiparty elections in 1990 the citizens of Serbia expressed their full trust in the president of the republic and the SPS. At the federal and local elections in May 1992, the citizens of Serbia again unambigously demonstrated their loyalty to the policies conducted by the president of the republic, Serbia's leadership, and the SPS.

Any insistence on, and any forcible imposition of resignations as well as frequent threats that the authorities should be toppled in an undemocratic way directly undermine the citizens of Serbia and their will. Everyone is aware that this is not merely a matter of calls for toppling society's democratic institutions, which would lead to chaos, but is also the absolute negation of the sovereign will of the majority of Serbia's citizens. Every patriot would interpret such resignations as taking flight from one's obligations at the hardest of times.

Bearing precisely this in mind, the SPS righty supports the president of the Republic of Serbia in his efforts to implement his policies to the benefit of the Serbian people, Serbia's citizens, and the citizens of Yugoslavia in these hard and dramatic moments for Serbia and Yugoslavia.

The SPS will not delude citizens, as some opposition parties and certain intellectuals, the so-called non-party personalities, do. Everyone should be made fully aware that demanding a change of leadership in these fateful moments for the Serbian people inevitably results in chaos, the final tragic solution of the Serbian people's position, and the definitive loss of Serbia and Yugoslavia as the state and homeland of our compatriots.

Today some groups, parties and individuals are obviously conspiring with foreign interests. Their sole aim is to seize power, so they do not refrain even from taking the risk of civil war.

Their explanations that their actions are in the interest of the people and citizens are transparent. The right path for every patriot today is to forge unity with all national and political forces and defend themselves from the untruths and lies designed to accomplish infamous goals at the expense of the vital interests of our people and our citizens. Any other kind of conduct is either designed to exploit the confusion in which power would be seized by ignoring the will of the people and citizens, or else is cowardice, amounting to treason.

In their lust for power, the protagonists of this deplorable surrender do not have the courage to say clearly in public whether they find the political and economic terror slapped on our country and our people justified, whether Serbia and Yugoslavia are aggressors, and whether there is any evidence to support the accusations. They do not have the courage, since they would have to tell the truth, or else they would be despised by the people and citizens. Hence they are resorting to tacit approvals of accusations and sanctions, thus performing an unprecedented political somersault whereby they blame the legally elected leadership for the severe consequences of these unjust and drastic measures against our country and our people, and demand the leadership's resignation.

In so doing they demonstrate solidarity with foreign factors and the interests of foreign powers in these areas while expecting these foreign powers to seize power for them in return. They are not even shying away from openly demanding that power should be handed over to them without testing the people's will, without any program which would lead to something better, without

any guarantees that the retaliations and sanctions against our country would be dropped, without any mention that they would save the state and homeland. Their clear claim, however, is that there will be a civil war if power is not handed over to them. This is a matter of political terror and of presaging armed terror.

If all of this is firmly linked to evidently foreign interests in these areas, then it is clear what kind of champions of national interests they are.

The SPS finds it unacceptable that political issues are arbitrated by non-political institutions such as the church and university. It is impossible to envisage the autonomy of the church and its separation from the state, and that of the university as a top educational and scientific institution, protected from political activities, if they are exploited for political purposes. In the SPS view this is an abuse of these institutions, while those personalities working in them who want to be politically active can do so within political organizations.

The SPS calls on all patriotic-oriented citizens and parties to defend national interests and cooperate so that all issues can be resolved in a political way and in keeping with the interests of the state and the people, the SPS statement says.

Draskovic Urges Overthrow of Regime

LD1006171892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1427 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jun (TANJUG)—A national rally scheduled for 21 June will be democratic and will last as long as it is necessary to bring down the Serbian president and his regime, Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] Chairman Vuk Draskovic said today.

In a statement for TANJUG, Draskovic said that democratic forces in Serbia will not allow the establishment of some interim government or state council if it is not endorsed by the Serbian Democratic Movement [Depos].

"We will not accept some substitute. An interim government and a state council must consist of people who will guarantee a radical democratic transformation. No party should dominate the government or the council, but special importance should be given to personalities and parties who were most prominent in opposing this apocalyptic regime in Serbia," Draskovic said.

He stressed that representatives of the Serbian Socialist Party who have preserved their moral credibility with the majority of citizens should join the council and government. Fortunately, there are such socialists. Representatives of national minorities should also enter the interim government.

Draskovic holds that the Serbian regime is not just isolated by the world, but also by an overwhelming majority of citizens of Serbia.

According to him, the entire democratic opposition, the Serbian Orthodox Church, the majority of academicians, the Federation of Writers, and universities are unanimous in demanding that the president and his government go, because that is the only way for Serbia to return to the world and itself and to prevent a threat of war.

"Unfortunately, the Serbian regime leadership decided to play the game of spite until the very end, and with this aim, it activated all its weapons: a small number of old-style communists, the SUBNOR [Alliance of Socialist Workers], fascists, and of course, its television," Draskovic said. He added that the regime is openly threatening civil war.

The thesis about a civil war is being spread by some opposition leaders, who, as he put it, are refusing to join the Depos for reasons known only to them.

"I want to stress that all threats of civil war are illusory. There is no danger of a war between Serbians in Serbia, because the side wanting a showdown has no strength left for it," Draskovic assessed, adding that the majority of people in the police force, as well as almost all soldiers and an overwhelming majority of officers, are on the side of democracy.

All that the regime can do is a reach a solution which would be against the interests of people at the top of the regime. We are offering them an opportunity to leave peacefully, and not to be forced to leave by democratic Serbia," Vuk Draskovic concluded.

Democratic Party Warns of Civil War Danger

AU1006190792 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] A news conference has been held in the International Press Center regarding the platform for preventing a civil war that has been issued by the Democratic Party. Party President Dragoljub Micunovic thinks that civil war is the greatest danger and evil that could happen to us, and therefore all factors must (?act responsibly) to contribute to its prevention. Vladimir Nikolic has a report:

[Begin recording] [Nikolic] Just the first week of the sanctions shows what kind of [word indistinct] we will be falling into. Apart from economic unrest, social unrest is also possible and even political conflicts, Micunovic stressed and added that the Democratic Party wants a compromise to be reached through talks among all relevant factors in the state. Changes in the government leadership are inevitable. One the one hand it is putting its head in the sand, and on the other it is impatient and making aggressive threats. Altogether this means an obstacle to the establishment of dialogue and compromise, which would lead to eliminating the danger of civil war, Micunovic said.

Zoran Djindjic, president of the party's executive committee, spoke in more detail about the platform. He

stressed that 80 signatures are necessary for their proposal to be put on the Assembly's agenda, which they already have. According to him, the president of the Assembly should first of all submit his resignation and then a transitional government and state council should be set up, and then the president of the republic should resign, too. Elections should be scheduled for the fall.

In reply to a question of what would happen if the president of the republic did not submit his resignation, Micunovic said that there are signs that President Milosevic could offer a referendum on confidence and in this connection added:

[Micunovic] Only this thing in itself might not do much, but on the contrary, it could stop the whole process so that President Milosevic would strengthen his position in just such a referendum, but the position of Serbia would thereby become even more tragic because changes would be even more difficult to make.

[Nikolic] It was said that the Democratic Party's proposal must be adopted as a whole because otherwise it would not be effective. [end recording]

New Opposition Party Blames Regime for War

LD1006164792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1418 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 10 June (TANJUG)—The League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina, the People's Party of Farmers, the Reformist Party, and the Republican Club will in the future operate under the name of Civic League of Serbia [Gradjanski Savez Srbije] with the aim of pacifying Serbia and freeing it from nationalism, its founders announced at a press conference today.

As Vesna Pesic, Dragan Veselinov, and Nenad Canak explained, the League stems from the realization that "the nationalist regime of the Socialist Party of Serbia, alongside other nationalist regimes, bears the greatest political responsibility for the disintegration of the Yugoslav state and the war."

Hence, in their words, the League's main aim is to shift Serbia from its war option to a peaceful one.

The League's program, distributed among the press, regards Slobodan Milosevic's rule as an autocracy culminating in the unlawful creation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia without the people's clearly expressed will.

The League maintains that an end to the war, the lifting of sanctions and a peaceful changeover of power can only be made possible if the independence and territorial integrity of all the Yugoslav states is granted recognition within their existing borders.

In addition to this, the League is in favor of establishing normal relations with the former Yugoslav republics and starting negotiations on the rights and status of Serbs in these states and on their special territorial and political autonomy. This new political association's goals also include resolving the autonomy and status of Kosovo and Vojvodina, demobilizing reserve military personnel, disarming paramilitary units, providing amnesty for all those who have not heeded mobilization, and bringing war criminals to justice.

The Civil League, it was said, is suggesting the dissolution of the republic's assembly, the withdrawal of the president of republic and the government president, and the formation of a transitional government of Serbia.

In this government, in Dragan Veselinov's words, there should be no place for representatives of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia and the Serbian Radical Party.

Belgrade's circle of independent intellectuals, the Center for Anti-war Action, and the Civil Movement of Resistance will also participate in the Civic League's activities. It is also open to other political organizations.

The first action is planned for Sunday 14 June. Further details will be announced at a later stage. Thus far, it is known that it will be called "Last Bell."

Students Demand Milosevic's Resignation

LD1006152692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jun (TANJUG)—Several thousand students held a one-hour long protest meeting outside the faculty law building in Belgrade today demanding the resignation of Slobodan Milosevic, the president of the Republic of Serbia. The students greeted with applause other demands contained in a proclamation drawn up by Belgrade University students. In addition to Milosevic's resignation, the students demand that the parliament and the Government of Serbia be disbanded, that a government of national salvation comprising the most intelligent and most capable citizens of Serbia be set up and that multiparty elections for constitutive assembly be called. If the demands are not fulfilled the students said they will call for a general strike at Belgrade University to start at 1200 on 15 June.

Orthodox Church Issues Memorandum on Situation

92BA1017A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 May 92 p 10

[Memorandum from the Holy Council of Bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church: "Call for Creation of Government of National Unity and Universal Salvation"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] Disassociation from government, new constitution... No one's seat is more important than the destiny and freedom of the entire nation. Protest also directed at EC because of the brutal and imprudent way in which it is encouraging the destruction of everything that has brought us together and united us.

The Holy Council of Bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church regards it as its holy duty and obligation to address the Orthodox Serbian nation and the international public from this year's regular meeting at this critical historical moment, with a message of responsibility and concern, but also with words of consolation and encouragement.

Turning to its faithful child and the entire Serbian nation, the Council does so with the words of Jesus Christ: "Let not your heart be troubled; you believe in God, now believe in me!" This is not the first time in the history of the Serbian nation that it has found itself at a crucifixion. The Serbian nation is not unknown to the European as well as the world community of nations. Specifically, it is not a nation without historic roots and traces, deeds and fruits, a Christian orientation and tested moral principles. Thus, it has its place under the sun and among the other nations. We hope that its more recent and most recent history has not been forgotten either. After the toilsome and self-sacrificing wars of liberation in the 19th and first decades of the 20th century, it participated in both world wars—we hope that people have not forgotten to this day on whose side it was. Nor should it be forgotten that during the First World War, Serbia lost nearly one-half of its adult male population, and that at that time one Serb in four gave his live for freedom and justice. It also made enormous sacrifices for the sake of human dignity and justice and for the allied cause in the Second World War. A victim of the cruel Nazi and fascist occupation and of the bloody revolution largely provoked by that experience, the Serbian nation after the war became a victim of communist tyranny, and not without responsibility for that were some of its wartime allies. The traces of wartime suffering and postwar violence are visible to this day in all areas of its life. During peacetime, communist untruths about events during the war became a source of great delusions about the Serbian nation as well as about other nations in this region, both on the internal and on the international stage. The depth of these delusions can be seen in the fact that the Serbian nation is the only European nation that is burying its war victims and healing its war traumas a full half a century after the war. Moreover, it, together with other nations, its neighbors, is only now solving vital problems that other nations of Europe have long since solved.

Trials of the Serbian Nation

1. Yugoslavia as a state, such as it was, was not created solely by its nations. It was created by the same Europe that is destroying it today so mercilessly, accepting the charge that the Serbian nation is exclusively to blame for all its old and new evils. In addition, it appears that the European Community, judging from its present-day behavior, has regarded the Serbian nation as identical with the regime that has governed it and that to a large measure continues to govern it today. One should not lose sight of the fact that this same West supported the postwar communist regime in Yugoslavia for decades, both politically and economically. This contributed greatly to its consolidation and many years of rule over all the nations. In the mirror of current events, however, the Serbian nation, the main victim of the imposed system and ideology, is now unjustifiably depicted as the main culprit for everything that has happened and is happening.

2. The Serbian Orthodox Church and the Serbian nation have never been adherents of godless communism, nor of any totalitarian ideology. Our church is for the unity of the Serbian nation and of Serbian lands, but also for a just solution to the national rights and existential problems of all the nations that live with it or are its neighbors.

Despite the burdens inherited from the past, the situation in our country is primarily a consequence of communist tyranny. We have all been its victims, but it is obvious that the greatest victim has been the Serbian nation, which is the only one to have been divided into artificial nations and republics, without its freely expressed will. Today, the European Community defends the imposed solutions of totalitarian ideology, and even imposes them as final historical solutions. This applies first and foremost to interrepublican borders, which even for the communist regime were merely administrative borders, but which are now accepted in Europe as inviolable international borders, even though they intersect the living organism of the Serbian nation, dividing its centuries-old residences, holy objects, graves, monasteries, and cultural monuments.

3. The Serbian question in Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina has not been around since only yesterday. Does the international community really want to help in the quest for a just and lasting solution, or does it simply want to impose unjust and unnatural solutions, in accordance with the momentary interests of the so-called new world order? Because of their unnaturalness and unjustness, however, such solutions would inevitably become the cause of new misfortunes and graves. The struggle of the Serbian nation for its survival cannot be identified with any regime, including the current one. The Serbian question in the Balkans exists independently of all systems and regimes. There has been an unjust solution—it was not a solution for anyone, neither for us nor for our neighbors; neither for the Balkans nor for Europe. But Serbia was Europe even before West Europe. Even to this day, it is devoted to the deepest Christian foundations of Europe, which is attested to by Serbian spirituality and culture.

Right of All Nations

By its very nature, the Church in Serbian lands cannot identify with any borders. It cares for its entire nation, wherever it may be, as well as for every fraternal nation born of Adam. Recognizing and respecting the rights of all nations with whom we live, we call on them to reflect upon the fact that we will be neighbors once again. The same sun will shine down on us, the same land will feed

us, we will continue to communicate with the same language, and the same God will look at us and judge us.

4. Regretfully, we must ascertain that the parties in power in Serbia and Montenegro have inherited the structures and organs, the means and principles of the postwar communist system, that even today they do not permit equal, democratic dialogue in society, and that they do not share responsibility and cooperation with all others.

5. Although in a different way, these parties, with no less effectiveness, do not allow the Church to occupy that place in society that belonged to it for centuries and that still belongs to it in accordance with its spiritual and moral values. Atheists continue to occupy the privileged stratum of society, especially in education. The government promises to rectify historical injustices and tyranny against the Church and the consciences of the people, but in practice it does not keep a single essential promise. Religious instruction has once again been excluded from the schools; Christ the Lord and Saint Sava have been shut out of the schools and out of children's souls; church property that should be returned to the Church is expropriated and sold off, despite the wishes of the donors and endowers, which even the Turkish authorities respected, just as they are respected in every rule-of-law state.

6. The authorities in Serbia and Montenegro are still unwilling to genuinely accept national reconciliation, to heal the consequences of civil and fratricidal war and create the preconditions for the spiritual rebirth and recovery of the nation. This is why the Serbian Church openly disassociates and distances itself from this and any such governments and their standard-bearers, as well as from their constitution, adopted without the people, and from the preliminary elections, which do not inspire confidence in terms of both their fraudulence and the manner in which preparations are being made for them.

7. The Serbian, truly national, and constituent Church, fully aware of the tragedy of the moment and the fateful crossroads at which the nation stands, again calls for the creation of a government national reconciliation, national unity, and universal salvation. We remind everyone in power, especially in Serbia, that no one's seat is more important than the destiny and freedom of the entire nation, and that no one has a monopoly over the nation and the future of our children.

8. The existing authorities have not lived up to their international responsibilities, nor have they been capable of defending the vital interests of the Serbian nation in a just manner. Much of the evil and many of the crimes, as well as the goals for which this internal war has been fought, are to a large part the consequence of a half century of ideological poisoning not only of the Serbian nation, but also of all other nations of the former Yugoslav region. It would be dishonorable and shortsighted to attribute to any nation, especially the Serbian one, the evils committed in our days and in its name by Broz' generals on both sides of the front, by former Titoist ideologists and politicians, be they from Ljubljana and Zagreb, Belgrade and Sarajevo, or Skopje and Podgorica. It was not necessary to convert their inability to negotiate and reach agreements into war among the nations that had just liberated themselves from communist slavery and humiliation. The very same people who invested enormous resources and powerful propaganda in creating the second Yugoslavia are now using even worse methods to destroy the fabric of life for all of us as people and nations. One should not lose sight of the fact that borders pass not only between republics, but also through the living connection of families, friendships, and blood and spiritual kinship after centuries of history, especially after the last 70 years of living together.

9. With sorrow in our hearts and bitterness in our souls, we address a protest as much to the rulers on the soil of the former Yugoslavia as to the European Community, which in a brutal and imprudent way is encouraging the destruction of everything that has brought us together as people and civilized nations and united us. Through its behavior, Western Europe, which is uniting today, appears to be aiding in our fratricidal separation and breakup, especially in the crumbling of the Serbian national and spiritual organism. Because of this behavior, Serbs are losing confidence in individual leading politicians and institutions in the European West and in the United States. It is a tragic fact that the Serbian Christian nation is in fact marking the 50th anniversary of its suffering (genocide) in the notorious Nazi "Independent State" of Croatia and in the Kosovo and Metohija region with new suffering.

10. Respecting and recognizing the rights of all people and nations with whom we have lived in this region for centuries, it is with pain that we must note the results of the communist and post-communist regimes thus far in all the former Yugoslav republics: tens of thousands dead, many times that number wounded, more than a million exiles and refugees, destroyed churches and homes, deserted towns, neglected hearths. In the area of the Slavonian Eparchy alone, 286 Serbian towns are deserted and devastated, while in the four eparchies where Serbs live mixed with Croats, around 200 Serbian Orthodox churches have been destroyed, including the cathedrals in Pakrac and Karlovac, and the eparchy centers in Zagreb, Pakrac, and Karlovac. We do not hide—on the contrary, we mourn and at the same time condemn—the destruction of many Croatian Roman Catholic churches and Muslim mosques, as well as the murder and banishment of innocent people and all other misdeeds brought by the insanity of war.

11. We also condemn any murder and any crime committed by members of any armed forces or any armed formations, Serbian, Croatian, or Muslim. And above all, we condemn the attacks on humanitarian convoys of the Red Cross or aid in the form of food and medicine to the threatened or besieged population.

Concentration Camps for Serbs

12. With pain in our souls, we cannot remain silent about the fact that concentration camps have again been opened for Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, such as Suhopolje near Virovitica, Odzak in the Bosnian Sava basin, Duvno and Livno, Smiljan in Lika, and others. According to refugees, they have reopened bottomless pits into which, as in the tragic year of 1941, innocent Serbs who have been arrested or taken prisoner are once again being thrown, such as the pits at Surmanci near Medjugorje in Hercegovina and the Katina pit at Velebit, between Gospic and Karlobag. We emphasize especially the case of more than 4,000 Serbs being held for several weeks at a concentration camp in Odzak, near Bosanski Samac; they kept their word and handed over their weapons, and were taken from their hearths to the mass camp where their fate remains uncertain to this day. It is obvious that the same fate is intended for Serbs and Serbian villages in the Bosnian Sava basin as that recently dealt to those in western Slavonia and western Hercegovina, meaning persecution, the closing and depopulation of Serbian villages, and flight into exile or rounding up into camps. Accordingly, 643 men, women, and children of Serbian nationality are imprisoned in Livno, and there 570 Serb men and women locked up in Duvno. And what is there to say about the fate of the Serbs in the coastal cities of Dalmatia? In this context, one should recall the recent statement by Croatian President Tudjman and Bosnia-Hercegovian President Izetbegovic that they preferred sovereignty and independence at the price of war over peace without sovereignty and independence.

13. As people and as Christians, but especially as bishops of the Church of Christ, we are surprised by the fact that certain governments of Europe and the world have not recognized the suffering of the Serbian Church and of the Serbian Orthodox nation from fascism and communism. These governments never did anything in defense of Christians, especially Orthodox ones, neither in Yugoslavia nor anywhere else in East Europe, during the decades of communist dictatorship. Thus, today we are deeply pained by the inhuman attitude of official Europe towards the problem of the existential, spiritual, and cultural identity and survival of the Serbian nation, which has been assailed by fascism, then communism, and now the totalitarian mentality of the so-called new world order.

Threatened Bishops

14. In this context, we appeal to all European institutions and to all responsible international factors, and especially to the United Nations and the European Community: to exert moral and political pressure on the government of Croatia so that it not destroy our churches and church centers. Unfortunately, this is happening even in places where there is no fighting going on, as was recently the case in Zagreb itself (where explosives were planted in the metropolitan's residence and the Museum of the Zagreb-Ljubljana Diocese on 11 April 1992). We also ask that free passage be ensured for our bishops and clergy in those parts of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina controlled by Croatian and Muslim forces so that they may perform their pastoral and human services freely and without obstruction, regardless of the republican and state borders, and that they be given effective protection with the help of the international peacekeeping missions. Naturally, we expect and demand this same assistance and protection for Roman Catholic bishops and clergy and religious officials of the Islamic community in the territories of Serbian Krajina and the Serbian parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina. We emphasize at this point that four of our bishops, whose seats are within the borders of the newly emerged Croatian state (Zagreb, Pakrac, Sibenik, and Karlovac), have been unable to reside at their seats or perform their archipastoral functions, while all Roman Catholic bishops in Serbia and Montenegro are free to carry out their church missions, and the only thing about which they can complain are petty unpleasantries and insults from irresponsible individuals or groups, through which the general chaos has disrupted reason and darkened the conscience.

15. We also appeal to all authorities in Serbia and all factors in Europe and the world to respect the rights and obligations of all who live in Kosovo and Metohija, but also that no solution be imposed under pressure from any side, but rather that a humane and just democratic order be genuinely supported, which will provide protection for all the people and nations in this region, which, because of its spiritual, national, and cultural significance, is to the Serbian nation what Jerusalem is to the Jews.

With all our heart, we wish and pray to the Crucified and Resurrected Christ, Son of God, the Savior of all people and nations, that the war be ended, and that the necessary peace and calm come between all of us as soon as possible—Serbs, Croats, Bosnian Muslims, Albanians, and all our neighbors, the memorandum ends.

Opposition Demands for New Leadership Viewed

LD1006171992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1243 GMT 10 Jun 92

[By Dragan Glumicic]

[Text] Belgrade, June 10 (TANJUG)—The demands for a new leadership in Serbia have suddenly become so acute that they have almost pushed into the background the most delicate question all Yugoslavs ask themselves—how to survive and overcome the sanctions imposed by the United Nations (U.N.).

The opposition says that these two issues are closely connected, claiming that most of the troubles which have befallen Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would be resolved with the resignation of Serbian Republican President Slobodan Milosevic.

Milosevic's resignation has been demanded so far by many prominent institutions: The Serbian Orthodox

Church, a group of 57 academicians, a student organization, and the Serbian Democratic Movement (Depos) which on Tuesday said that the "organization of the United Nations was asking for one for all."

"All—that is the Serb people, and one—that is you, Mr. President of the Republic of Serbia," a Depos letter to Milosevic said.

The opposition, the church and the Academy of Sciences and Arts accuse Milosevic of having brought Serbia into a position from which there is no way out, politically or economically, into international isolation, that he lost three wars, that he is the chief culprit for the destruction of cities in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, for the stoking of nationalism....

The U.N. sanctions, however, have provided for the other side also many arguments against the resignation of President Milosevic and the ousting of the current leadership.

The followers of the president, thus, see the sanctions as proof of their old thesis that a wide international conspiracy was organized against Serbia a long time ago, that Catholic and Moslem countries have joined together against orthodox Christianity, that the United States (U.S.) and the European Community (E.C.) are using Serbia as a testing ground for establishing a new international order in which they would overbearingly blackmail small nations. In such a situation, Milosevic's resignation would be equal to capitulation and national betrayal, they believe.

Both sides are offering their arguments with fire from the heaviest guns, choosing neither words nor means for proving their theses.

This is probably the main reason why it is increasingly evident to the public that this conflict is actually not just a result of moral dilemmas and purely patriotic convictions, but primarily inter-party rivalry. This also seems to be the main reason that these disputes have not resulted in clean-cut polarization among the parties, which would precisely show who would opt for what at a referendum. The forecasts will not be helped any by the results of last week's local and federal elections, at which only slightly more than one-half of the electorate voted, although the ruling party described them as an act of patriotism for Serbia and the opposition called for a boycott.

Only ten or so days since they were adopted, the sanctions have created on both sides an unusually large number of undecided, whose dilemmas are often more interesting and indicative than the debates raging among those who stand to make either personal losses or personal gains from a change at the helm of Serbia.

Supporters of the opposition have noticed that the many different organizations which criticize Milosevic have as their spokespersons a quite small group of always the same people, while prominent party figures sit in the leaderships of many so-called nonpartisan organizations.

Also increasingly frequent are opinions, made after detailed analyses, that the many attacks on Milosevic, especially the recent memorandum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, can after a detailed analysis be seen to contain the very same Serbian nationalism ascribed to Milosevic. "The church is not criticizing Milosevic because he started the war, but because he lost it," an opposition newspaper has commented.

Finally, however much the opposition is being accused of betraying the national interests and a lack of national pride, there are many even among the fiercest opponents of Milosevic who feel that America is not overly benevolent towards the Serbs and that by its 'mediation' the European Community has not helped them at all. They are posing the question: Why allow Bush to topple Milosevic and take from us the pleasure of doing it ourselves.

On the other hand, among those who until recently bore portraits of Milosevic, and who would even today without hesitation defend him with all available means, there is a large number who, as members of a "sporting" nation, find very disturbing a "sport" argument in favour of a replacement of the current Serbian leadership and policies: You cannot win the championship with a team that has been relegated.

Kosovo

Albanians 'Rejecting' Talks With Government

AU1006165892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Pristina]

[Text] Representatives of Albanian parties and associations from Kosovo and Metohija are rejecting yet another offer from the Serbian Government to start dialogue on the situation in the province. Representatives of some parties and associations are using the excuse that they did not receive invitations. So, for example, Hajrullah Gorani, president of the Independent Trade Unions of Kosovo, assessed at a news conference that Albanians are insulted because there is too much emphasis in the invitation on calling them an ethnic minority.

The Social Democratic Party of Kosovo thinks that talks can only be held with the mediation of international offices and on neutral territory. This party is agreeing to dialogue on the condition that it has recognized equal status, just as Kosovo had in the former Yugoslavia, as they put it. The Committee for the Protection of Human Rights from Pristina does not agree to dialogue in which, as they said, the framework for the talks is determined by one side.

In reply to the invitation from the Serbian Government, the largest party of Albanians, the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, says that the scope and character of the talks determined in the invitation make successful dialogue impossible. This party thinks that serious talks must be well prepared on the basis of European criteria and orientations.

[Belgrade TANJUG in English at 1628 GMT on 10 June in a report on ethnic Albanian reaction to the Serbian Goverenment's call for talks adds: "The Democratic Union of Kosovo (DSK), the leading ethnic-Albanian party in Kosovo and Metohija, has taken the view that 'the framework and character of the talks, as defined in the text of the invitation, do not enable successful talks on the issues Kosovo.'

["DSK Vice-President Fehmi Agani confirmed in a statement to TANJUG that not one of the five political parties represented in the coordinating body of the ethnic-Albanian parties would arrive in Belgrade on Thursday.

["The Peasants' Party of Kosovo feels that the Kosovo problem 'can be resolved only at the peace conference (on Yugoslavia) in Brussels or at a special international conference on Kosovo.'

["Similar reactions came on Wednesday from other ethnic-Albanian parties in Kosovo and Metohija and the ethnic-Albanian trade unions, all of which rejected the latest in a series of invitations to talks with the Government of Serbia."]

Vojvodina

Local SPS Board Criticizes Jeszenszky Proposal

LD1006185192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Novi Sad, 10 Jun (TANJUG)—A statement made by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, in which he advocated sending CSCE forces to Kosovo and Vojvodina "to prevent clashes and protect Hungarians" in Vojvodina, is an act of crude interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia and Serbia, a statement of the Provincial Board of the Serbian Socialist Party [SPS] for Vojvodina says.

The Provincial Board assesses that the act is an unfounded and ill-intentioned gesture, which could only exacerbate interethnic relations in Vojvodina, cause unrest, and harm most of all members of the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina, the statement says.

The SPS Vojvodina Provincial Board today had talks in connection with a statement made by Andras Agoston, chairman of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians, who supported Hungarian demand for sending CSCE forces to Vojvodina. We assess the support of this party leader as a call to exacerbate interethnic relations in Vojvodina.

"It can easily be seen that Mr. Agoston fits into a scenario of ungrounded and pointless blockade of Serbia and Yugoslavia, aimed at breaking them up and forcibly toppling the authorities in Serbia," the statement says.

The SPS Provincial Board believes that Hungarians who have been living with Serbs and other nations and national minorities in Vojvodina will not be deceived by these and similar provocations.

The statement of the SPS Provincial Board stresses in particular that the SPS in Vojvodina will continue to champion peace, life together, and stable interethnic relations.

Commenting on calls for the resignation of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, the SPS Provincial Board maintains that such demands are unsubstantiated and immoral. "Those wanting to grab power in an illegal and undemocratic manner are overlooking the basic fact that the republican president was elected by a large majority of the citizens of Serbia in democratic elections and that he enjoys the support of the Serbian people and Serbian citizens," the statement stresses, and calls on all citizens of the republic to strengthen unity in order to preserve peace, freedom, and sovereignty.

Hungarian Official Views Embargo, Autonomy

AU1006113692 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Jun 92 p 1

[Interview with Andras Agoston, chairman of the Democratic Federation of Vojvodina Hungarians, by Zoltan Szalai; place and date not given: "We Feel Helpless"]

[Text] According to Andras Agoston, the recent international pressure could solve the Yugoslav conflict. Our correspondent asked Andras Agoston about the effects of the embargo on the Hungarians there.

[Agoston] Naturally, the recent sanctions affect us in the same way as any other citizen in Serbia. The Democratic Federation of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK] has been claiming for a long time that only an effective international position can solve the crisis. In this respect, the accelerated international activity could contribute to a rapid solution of the conflict.

[Szalai] According to the recent proposal made by [Foreign Minister] Geza Jeszenszky, peace-keeping forces should already be deployed in Vojvodina in order to avoid possible violence there....

[Agoston] The VMDK starts from the premise that the Hungarians in Vojvodina are a native minority that is not armed. In the current situation, we are practically defenseless against possible atrocities. We fear very much that a wave of refugees could start from Vojvodina under the pressure of semi-military units. We would like to avoid this and we think it is necessary to take any step aimed at avoiding this danger.

[Szalai] To what extent can the relatively good position of the VMDK in the recent elections help in solving the problems facing the Hungarians in Vojvodina?

[Agoston] First of all, we are striving to make it possible for the Hungarians in Vojvodina to express themselves by engaging in political activity. The preparations for the elections also helped make people turn their attention to this, rather than to the worst. I think we fully succeeded in achieving this goal and we calmed the people with our political activity in the course of our electoral preparations.

[Szalai] At its recent meeting in Kanizsa, the VMDK adopted an autonomy concept. What is the essence of this concept?

[Agoston] The VMDK would like to achieve territorial autonomy in the areas with a Hungarian majority. We also demand personal autonomy in the entire territory of Serbia, in matters of education, culture, and information. The third element of our autonomy concept is the self-governing of the scattered Hungarian settlements.